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ABSTRACT

A series of nine lessons that can be used in any order, this booklet is intended to help teachers and students discuss and analyze the issue of terrorism in the United States. The lessons cover a range of important issues appropriate for social studies classes, and contain readings, discussion questions, and interactive activities. The first lesson presents an overview of the Oklahoma City (Oklahoma) bombing and corresponding issues. The next seven lessons are grouped into three issue areas: responses to terrorism, free speech issues, and the prevalence of conspiracy theories in U.S. society. The final lesson, appropriate for use by teachers in all curriculum areas, models a civic participation process that encourages students to take a hands-on approach to addressing community problems. The materials invite student participation in a variety of activities such as directed discussions, small groups, simulations, role playing, and interaction with outside resource persons. Student handouts are appended. (TSV)

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TERRORISM IN AMERICA

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Introduction

The terrorist bombing at the Oklahoma City federal building touched the entire nation. The evolving investigation of the brutal crime has uncovered troubling information about domestic terrorism and the groups whose deep disillusionment with government may have inspired it.

Oklahoma City Public Schools requested the development of these materials to help their teachers deal with the issues raised by the bombing and to provide students with positive learning experiences inside and outside the classroom.

Overview of Lessons

The student materials consist of nine lessons, which can be used in any order. Teachers are encouraged to choose lessons that fit their curricular needs. The first eight lessons cover a range of issues appropriate for social studies classes. Each of these lessons is designated as a U.S. history or U.S. government lesson, but teachers could probably use them in either class. The final lesson sequence can be used by teachers in all curriculum areas. It models a civic participation process that encourages students to take a hands-on approach to addressing community problems. Students plan, implement, and evaluate projects with goals such as promoting tolerance or preventing violence.

Each of the first eight lessons is structured as follows: a reading, discussion questions, and an interactive activity (e.g., role play, simulation, debate, etc.). The activities are designed to engage students in the material and to foster critical-thinking skills.

The first lesson presents an overview of the Oklahoma City bombing and some issues raised by it. The next seven lessons are grouped in three issue areas: responses to terrorism, free speech issues, and the prevalence of conspiracy theories in American society.

Beginning on page 6, there is a brief guide to each lesson. For each lesson, there is the following:

- Overview. This describes the entire lesson.
- ORP (Outside Resource Person). Each lesson presents opportunities for ORPs to visit your classroom and participate. This section suggests ORPs and how they might participate. As a general rule, ORPs can best enter the lesson after students have done the reading and discussion part of the lesson. For further help with using ORPs, see the section on ORPs on p. 5.
- Focus Activity. This contains instructions for a brief activity to introduce the lesson.
- Reading and Discussion. This is the second step in the lessons. For information on leading discussions, see the section on Directed Discussions on p. 4.
- Activity. Most of the instructions for activities are found in the student materials. For help on specific teaching strategies, e.g. role plays, small-group work, etc., see Classroom Strategies below.
- Debriefing. This provides instructions for ensuring closure for the lesson. For some role plays, this section provides answers to what happened in the real case that role play is based on.
- Extension Activity. For some lessons, there are additional optional activities suggested.

Below, there is a brief section on teaching strategies.

Classroom Strategies

These materials stimulate student participation in various activities. Listed below are some suggestions to facilitate the lessons.

Handling Controversy

These materials raise controversial issues. Controversy cannot and should not be avoided. Disagreement is a real, indeed necessary, phenomenon.

When a controversy arises in your classroom, clarify the disagreement.

- Identify the issue or issues under dispute.
- Identify areas of agreement and disagreement.
- Identify underlying assumptions.
- Make sure students concretely define terms and avoid slogans.

This process of definition may bring the subject to a close. If not, use an appropriate strategy for addressing the controversy, including discussion, research, formal debate, anonymous writing assignments, private or public mediation, and forced perspective activities in which students must argue an issue from the "other" side. Note that some of these

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activities can be prepared or completed outside of class, so there is no need to seriously disrupt your schedule.

Whatever strategy you use, be sure students follow certain ground rules.

- They must argue ideas, not personalities.
- They must represent the opposing position(s) fairly and accurately.
- They should admit doubts and weaknesses in their own position.
- Above all, the argument should concentrate on evidence.

Students should air their own views, hear their opponents' views, and examine both. Be sure students understand that closure of a controversy does not mean one side wins.

Directed Discussions

Each lesson has discussion questions. Some check student comprehension of words or concepts. Others ask students to infer, compare, analyze, synthesize, hypothesize, or evaluate information. Discussion of questions in this latter category is critical to a lesson's progress. Many times, activities are based on information raised in these discussions.

When a question asks for personal opinion, encourage students to:

- State their opinions clearly.
- Support them with facts, logical arguments, or reference to parallel situations and circumstances.
- Define the terms they use.

Doing this will give students practice in forming opinions that can be communicated. It also will develop criteria for students to judge the opinions of others.

Some suggestions on leading discussions:

- Remind students of some basic rules for discussions:
  - Keep an open mind and listen to one another.
  - Respect the opinions of others and do not belittle their views.
  - Work cooperatively to try to find an answer to the question posed.
- Be ready with potential follow-up questions. This will help you guide the discussion process.
- Be sure students listen to one another and respond to what was said, not what they think they heard.
- Remind students that people disagree about many of these questions and there may not be a single, easy answer to the questions raised.

Small-Group Activities

By working in small groups, students learn to communicate, to cooperate, to persuade and bargain, and to compromise. Student participation can be maximized by:

- Making sure students clearly and specifically understand the instructions before they begin the activity.
- Monitoring group progress by circulating among groups during the activity.
- Holding students responsible for decisions and actions taken by their groups. If a student disagrees with a group's decision, point out constructive ways he or she could *and should* have altered that decision.

When the group activity is over, you might debrief the process as well as the activity. This will help students develop the skills necessary to work well in small groups. You might discuss:

- What helped this group work well together?
- What interfered with the group working well together?
- What could members do next time to improve the group's work?
- Did everyone participate? Why or why not? How did group members feel about their levels of participation?

Brainstorming

Brainstorming has a specific purpose and specific rules. It is intended to generate ideas. It works by separating the process of coming up with ideas from the processes of discrimination and judgment. Typically, a group of brainstormers is given a clearly stated question. Within a limited time, they are told to think of and write down the greatest possible number of answers. The key is quantity, not quality of ideas. The time pressure short-circuits judgment: If they are to compile a long list, brainstormers have no time to discuss ideas.

You may want to remind students of the basic rules for brainstorming:

- Do not criticize any idea.

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- Expand on the ideas of others.
- Work as fast as possible.
- Write down each idea—or at least a key word.

Simulations and Role-Playing

Many of these lessons have simulation and role-play activities, which are extremely effective in getting students involved in learning. Although the simulations vary, a few general rules should be observed:

- Be sure students clearly understand their instructions and roles before beginning the activity.
- If you have no assigned role, monitor student participation.

Debriefing is the most important element of simulations. The debriefing questions identified in the materials are meant to explore the lesson's content and further the lesson's goals. Give your students an opportunity to raise and discuss additional questions generated by the simulation. Debriefing is also an excellent time to address the issue of non-participation.

Outside Resource Persons (ORPs)

Each lesson suggests roles for ORPs. Classroom visits from informed professionals can be a valuable teaching tool. Resource experts serve as role models and make community institutions more familiar. Identifying experts and arranging visits is not difficult. The public information officers of local or state law enforcement agencies, the courts, and bar associations are good sources for contacting people from the justice system. Your Chamber of Commerce, Better Business Bureau, professional organizations, and unions can connect you with speakers from business, industry, and labor. Politicians' constituent service offices can identify appropriate speakers from government institutions. Also, use the faculty of your local college or university as a pool of potential contacts. And be sure to utilize the contacts of your students, their parents, and their friends. Handout 5C gives students pointers on tracking down ORPs in government, business, media, and non-profit groups. If possible, have your students make the arrangements for ORPs.

When you contact an appropriate individual to make arrangements, be sure to:

- Explain the purpose of the visit. Briefly describe your objectives for the guest's presentation.
- Place the visit in context. Explain the class's current field of study, your planned follow-up activities, etc.
- Describe the audience. Tell the speaker how many students will be present and briefly characterize their ages, interests, and achievement levels.
- Specify the scope of presentation, both in time and content. Be sure this reflects the grade level, maturity, and attention span of your class.
- Request specific dates and times. Suggest two or three alternatives from which your guest can choose. (Many speakers require at least three weeks' notice.)
- Be sure the visitor has the correct address, directions and knows where to park.

After arranging the visit, confirm it with the principal and other appropriate personnel. It is probably wise to get a final confirmation from the resource expert a few days before the presentation.

To make the visit most effective:

- Prepare the class. Discuss the purpose of the visit and provide basic information about the speaker. Having the class compile a list of questions to ask the expert is a useful activity.
- Remember that ORPs are not trained teachers. During the presentation, you will need to direct both the speaker and the class with appropriate questions or other clues.
- Allow sufficient time at the close of the class for a summary of the presentation and a thank you to the guest. Thank-you letters give speakers particular satisfaction and give students a good language arts experience.
- Ask debriefing questions. Also ask students to comment on what they learned from the speaker and how it influenced their views about the speaker's profession or topic. Encourage their constructive suggestions for improving such experiences.

Journals

For the civic participation lesson, students should be encouraged to keep a journal of their planning and implementation of a project. Journals will help students reflect on their learning, and aid teacher evaluation of the student.Students can record names, dates, and notes, but they also should document their observations, thoughts, and reactions about the project, the people they work with, and the results of their work. Journals can include sketches and diagrams in addition to other kinds of written expression.

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Guide to Lessons

INTRODUCTORY LESSON

Lesson # 1: The Aftermath of Terror (U.S. Government and U.S. History)

Overview:

This lesson provides background that students may need for the other lessons. The reading briefly describes the Oklahoma City bombing and then delves into what has happened since. It explores the investigation, the indictment of three suspects, the concern over the militia movement, and the political reaction to the bombing. In the activity, students take a pro or con position on one of four issues raised in the reading, write a position paper, and debate the four issues.

ORP: You might arrange in advance for one of the following outside resource persons to take part in the lesson: prosecutor, criminal defense attorney, or judge. A legal expert could:

- Explain pretrial, trial, and appeal procedures.
- Discuss measures courts can take to ensure that a defendant receives a fair trial.
- Discuss the meaning of the Second Amendment.
- Moderate the debate and participate in the discussion about the debate.

Focus Activity:

Write "terrorism" on the board. Call on students to give a one-word response to this word. List responses on the board. The words probably will reflect an emotional reaction to terrorism. Example responses might include: outrage, fear, anger, etc. Review the list and point out how strongly many people feel. Discuss how these reactions might make it difficult to examine a particular case of terrorism objectively.

Reading and Discussion:

Have students read "The Aftermath of Terror." Lead a group discussion using the questions that follow.

Activity:

Conduct the activity "A Written Debate" by following the instructions in the student material.

Debriefing:

Following the debate, discuss which groups made the best arguments for each topic. Then for each topic, ask:

- Based on the arguments, can we come to a consensus position?
- What would it be?

RESPONSES TO TERRORISM

With a threat of terrorism in the United States, what should we do? What have other countries done? What have we done in the past? Do we need to change our Constitution? The lessons in this section examine these questions.

Lesson # 2: How Do Other Countries Handle Terrorism? (U.S. Government)

Overview:

In the last 30 years, America has suffered few terrorist acts on its soil. Other countries have not been so fortunate. The reading in this lesson examines how particular European democratic countries counter terrorism. In the activity, students role play members of Congress and decide whether the United States should adopt any of the measures for dealing with terrorism discussed in the reading.

Also included as sidebars to the reading are the following:

Excerpts from the Terrorism Bill that has passed the Senate but is currently bogged down in the House of Representatives.

A national poll conducted by the *Los Angeles Times* on whether the country needs anti-terrorism legislation and whether fighting terrorism might erode constitutional rights.

ORP: You might arrange in advance for one of the following outside resource persons to take part in the lesson:

(1) Elected official (city council member, state legislator, congress person). An elected official could discuss the constitutionality and effectiveness of various measures for combatting terrorism.

(2) Prosecutor, criminal defense attorney, or judge. A legal expert could discuss the constitutionality of various anti-terrorist proposals.

Focus Activity:

Ask students to write for five minutes on the following subject: What should be done to prevent terrorism in the United States? Ask volunteers to share what they have written.

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Reading and Discussion:

Have students read "How Do Other Countries Handle Terrorism?" Lead a group discussion using the questions that follow.

Activity:

Conduct the activity "Terrorism Prevention Act" by following the instructions in the student material.

Debriefing:

Following the activity, discuss which arguments seemed strongest and why. Ask students to share any additional ideas for combatting terrorism.

Extension Activities:

(1) Review and discuss with the class the proposed Terrorism Bill (on p. 18). Students could write their U.S. senators and representatives asking for their opinion on this legislation and on what should be done about terrorism.

(2) Ask students to take out a sheet of paper and answer anonymously the same questions as in the *Los Angeles Times* survey (on p. 19). Record the results of this informal survey on the board. Compare and discuss their results with the national survey results. A group of students may want to create their own survey, poll students, and publish the results in the school newspaper. If so, give them Handout 5A—Opinion Surveys (on p. 49). This handout gives pointers on polling.

(3) Ask students to complete a writing assignment on the topic they initially wrote on: What should be done to prevent terrorism in the United States? For extra credit, students could write letters to the editor or letters to their congress person outlining their ideas about what should be done.

Lesson # 3: Palmer "Red Raids" (U.S. History)

Overview:

While the bombing at Oklahoma City marks the worst terrorist act on U.S. soil, it is far from the first time Americans have had to deal with terrorism. Following World War I, a series of terrorist bombings evoked a powerful response from the attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer, whose house was the target of one of the bombs. Palmer's response focused on rounding up and deporting immigrant revolutionaries, who he blamed for the bombings. These Red Raids, as they were known, unfortunately trampled on many rights guaranteed by the Constitution. The reading examines the Red Raids. In the activity, students decide whether Thomas Truss, an alien detained in the raids, should be deported.

ORP: You might arrange in advance for one of the following outside resource persons to take part in the lesson: prosecutor, criminal defense attorney, or judge. A legal expert could:

- Discuss due process rights of criminal defendants.
- Participate in one of the groups deciding the fate of Thomas Truss and help lead the discussion following the activity.

Focus Activity:

Pair students and ask them to brainstorm possible dangers from a government overreaction to the threat of terrorism. After a few minutes, regroup the class and call on volunteers to share their responses.

Reading and Discussion:

Have students read "Palmer 'Red Raids.'" Lead a group discussion using the questions that follow.

Activity:

Conduct the activity "In the Matter of Thomas Truss" by following the instructions in the student material.

Debriefing:

Use the debriefing questions (on p. 24). Tell students about the actual decision of Post (noted in the paragraph below). Then ask: What due process rights should every person in America be entitled to? See if the class can come to a consensus on the answer.

Decision of Assistant Secretary of Labor Louis F. Post in the Truss Case: Secretary Post chose to disregard any oral or written statements made by Truss while he was being questioned without the opportunity to have a lawyer present. Consequently, on April 10, 1920, Post decided to release Truss after concluding that he had never been a knowledgeable and active member of the Communist Party. It was this decision by Secretary Post that led to the attempt in the House of Representatives to impeach him. [Note: Make sure students understand that Post's deci-

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sion is not the right answer. The right answer is for students to make a reasoned decisio... Many people agreed and disagreed with Post's decision.]

Lesson # 4: Do We Need a New Constitutional Convention? (U.S. Government)

Overview:

Does our Constitution need revising to protect us from terrorism? This reading explains the two methods for amending the Constitution with brief arguments for and against the one method that has never been used—a constitutional convention. In the activity, students role play delegates to a constitutional convention called to enact amendments to combat terrorism.

ORP: You might arrange in advance for one of the following outside resource persons to take part in the lesson: legal expert, journalist, or a gun control advocate or opponent. All these ORPs could:

- Discuss the proposed amendment with the class.
- "Testify" to particular committees.

Focus Activity:

Pair students. Ask them to brainstorm what rights they have as Americans. After a few minutes, regroup the class and ask volunteers to share with the class. Have the class copy down the list.

Reading and Discussion:

Have participants read "Do We Need a New Constitutional Convention?" Lead a group discussion using the questions that follow.

Activity:

Conduct the activity "The 'Safe America' Amendment" by following the instructions in the student material. Divide the class so that every student serves on one of six committees. The committees are pro or con on three sections of the proposed amendment: section 2 (concerned with special courts and the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth amendments), section 3 (concerned with handgun control and the Second Amendment), and section 4 (concerned with prohibiting interviews with terrorists and the First Amendment).

Debriefing:

Hold a class discussion using the debriefing questions (on p. 27).

Extension Activity:

Have students take out the list of rights they prepared in the focus activity. As a written assignment, have students choose the three rights they would be most reluctant to give up and explain their choices. Following the written assignment, hold a discussion to find out if the class can come to a consensus on the three most important rights.

FREE SPEECH ISSUES

Issues of free speech quickly surfaced after the bombing in Oklahoma City. Does talk radio hurt or contribute to our democracy? What are the limits of free speech? Should some information, such as recipes for bombs, be controlled by the government? This section looks into these issues.

Lesson # 5: Talk Radio: Playground for Free Speech or a Forum for Hate? (U.S. Government)

Overview:

Shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing, President Clinton condemned the "many loud and angry voices in America today." Although he did not specifically mention talk radio hosts, many interpreted them to be his target, and a new controversy stormed. The reading in this lesson examines the controversy over talk radio. In the activity, students role play station managers who must decide whether to keep particular talk radio hosts on the air.

Also included as a sidebar is a national poll from the *Los Angeles Times* on talk radio.

ORP: You might arrange in advance for one of the following outside resource persons to take part in the lesson: a reporter, newscaster, or station manager from the local media. A media expert could:

- Explain the differences in factual news reporting, op/ed columns, letters to the editor, and talk radio formats.
- Discuss how media people deal with FCC guidelines.
- Discuss how freedom of speech and of the press apply to radio, television, and other modern methods of mass communication.
- Participate in the class discussion following the activity "Who Should Be on the Air?"

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Focus Activity:

Have students brainstorm a list of different talk radio programs they have heard.

Reading and Discussion:

Have students read "Talk Radio: Playground for Free Speech or a Forum for Hate?" Lead a group discussion using the questions that follow.

Activity:

Conduct the activity "Who Should Be on the Air?" by following instructions in the student material.

Debriefing:

After they have completed the activity, hold a discussion using the questions in the student material (p. 30).

Extension Activities:

(1) Ask students to take out a sheet of paper and answer anonymously the same questions as in the *Los Angeles Times* survey (on p. 29). Record the results of this informal survey on the board. Compare and discuss their results with the national survey results. A group of students may want to create their own survey, poll students, and publish the results in the school newspaper. If so, give them Handout 5A—Opinion Surveys (on p. 49). This handout gives pointers on polling.

(2) Have students monitor at home a talk radio program for one hour. Have them evaluate the program by the "fresh air" policy described in the article or by their own criteria.

(3) Assign students to write an essay describing their ideal talk radio program. Tell them to describe the format, the subjects covered, and the host and explain why this would be their ideal program. Following the written assignment, hold a class discussion to find out if the class can come to a consensus on the ideal talk radio program.

Lesson # 6: A "Clear and Present Danger" (U.S. History)

Overview:

After the arrest of suspects in the Oklahoma City bombing case, the media was filled with reports of militia groups and extreme right-wing commentators with strong anti-government views. The U.S. Constitution guarantees freedom of speech. But the Constitution does not allow someone to falsely shout "fire" in a crowded theater. What are the limits of free speech? The reading provides a brief history of free speech cases, particularly the Sedition Act of 1798, *Schenck v. U.S.* (1919), and *Terminiello v. Chicago* (1949). In the activity, students debate three free speech cases decided by the Supreme Court after World War I: *Debs v. U.S.* (1919), *Frohwerk v. U.S.* (1919), and *Gitlow v. New York* (1925).

ORP: You might arrange in advance for one of the following outside resource persons to take part in the lesson: an attorney or judge. A legal expert could:

- Discuss the meaning of the First Amendment.
- Explain the role of the court in interpreting the First Amendment and laws like the Sedition Act or the Federal Espionage Act.
- Moderate the debates in the activity "When is Speech a 'Clear and Present Danger?'"

Focus Activity:

In pairs, have students write down three situations where free speech might be dangerous. If necessary, prompt them to think of situations in wartime or in emergencies. After a few minutes, call on pairs to report their answers.

Reading and Discussion:

Have students read "A 'Clear and Present Danger.'" Lead a group discussion using the questions that follow.

Activity:

Conduct the activity "When is Speech a 'Clear and Present Danger?'"

Debriefing:

After students have completed the activity, hold a discussion using the questions in the student material (p. 33). Inform students about the outcome of the free speech cases (noted in the paragraph below).

Outcome of the Free Speech Cases: The convictions of the defendants were upheld by the Supreme Court in all four cases. The *Debs* and *Frohwerk* cases were decided unanimously on March 10, 1919 (seven days after the *Schenck* decision). The decisions were not unanimous in the *Abrams* and *Gitlow* cases. Justices Brandeis and Holmes dissented. [Note: Make sure students understand that the decisions by the Supreme

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Court are not the right answers for the activity. The right answer is for students to make reasoned decisions. Many legal experts have agreed and disagreed with the court's decisions over the years.]

Extension Activity:

Have students choose one of the dangerous situations they thought of in the focus activity and write a short essay explaining whether speech should be restricted in this situation. Following the written assignment, hold a class discussion to find out if the class can come to a consensus on what "clear and present danger" means.

Lesson # 7: National Security and the H-bomb (U.S. Government)

Overview:

How did the terrorists in the Oklahoma City bombing learn how to make a bomb? There are several theories, but what the public has discovered is that there are books and Internet sites that provide this information. Should this information be available? Can the government suppress it? In this lesson, the reading focuses on the case of *The Progressive* magazine, which involved a magazine intent on publishing information about the H-bomb and the government intent on suppressing the information on the grounds of national security. In the activity, students take part in a moot court on *The Progressive* case.

ORP: You might arrange in advance for one of the following outside resource persons to take part in the lesson: an attorney, journalist, editor, or writer. This expert could:

- Discuss the First Amendment, censorship, and the importance of freedom of the press.
- Explain prior restraint.
- Help groups prepare for the activity and help during the discussion following the activity.

Focus Activity:

Have students vote on the question: Should newspapers and magazines be allowed to print instructions on how to make a bomb? Lead a class discussion in which students support their positions.

Reading and Discussion:

Have students read "National Security and the H-Bomb." Lead a group discussion using the questions that follow.

Activity:

Conduct the activity "*The Progressive* Case" by following the instructions in the student material.

Debriefing:

Following the moot court, hold a discussion about which groups made the best arguments and why. Inform students about the outcome of *The Progressive* case (noted in the paragraph below).

Outcome of *The Progressive* Case: Shortly after arguments were presented to the U.S. Seventh Circuit Court of Appeal, the Justice Department withdrew its suit against *The Progressive*. This occurred after another Wisconsin publication printed a long letter by Charles R. Hansen who detailed much of the same information covered in the article by Howard Morland. Hansen, a computer expert from California, had been collecting information on the H-bomb since 1971. *The Progressive* published the Morland article, but the question of whether prior restraint was constitutional in this case was never decided by the courts.

Extension Activity:

Have students do the following writing assignment: Write a one-page essay expressing your opinion on the attempt by the federal government to stop *The Progressive* from publishing the article by Howard Morland. When, in your opinion, would prior restraint of the press be justified and constitutional under the First Amendment? Following the written assignment, hold a class discussion to find out if the class can come to a consensus on when prior restraint of the press would be justified.

CONSPIRACY THEORIES

Conspiracy theories have surfaced in our nation from its founding, and it comes as no surprise that a tragedy as large as the Oklahoma City bombing should engender them. The one lesson in this section examines conspiracy theories.

Lesson # 8: Conspiracy Theories: Attacks on Jefferson Set the Pattern (U.S. History)

Overview:

Since the bombing in Oklahoma City, the public has heard several wild conspiracy theories about a possible U.N. takeover of the United States and

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about the government's alleged role in the bombing. Where do these conspiracy theories come from? Why do people believe them? The reading in this lesson examines a historic conspiracy theory—the Illuminati conspiracy theory in the era of Jefferson—and takes a critical look at other conspiracy theories in U.S. history. In the activity, students evaluate assertions put forth in different conspiracy theories.

ORP: You might arrange in advance for one of the following outside resource persons to take part in the lesson: a psychologist or family counselor. An expert in this field could:

- Explain concepts of common sense, logic, rationality, paranoia, and explain the need to blame outsiders for disasters.
- Discuss some differences between fantasy and reality, and rational and irrational thinking.
- Debrief the activity.

Focus Activity:

Tell students to take out a sheet of paper and not put their names on it. Ask students to rate a statement anonymously on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 standing for extremely likely to be true. Write the following statement on the board: There is a vast conspiracy in government to cover up the truth about the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Collect the papers and add up the totals. (You might even average the scores.) Repeat this activity after students have completed the lesson.

Reading and Discussion:

Have students read "Conspiracy Theories: Attacks on Jefferson Set the Pattern." Lead a group discussion using the questions that follow.

Activity:

Conduct the activity "Critical Thinking About Conspiracies" by following the instructions in the student material.

Debriefing:

Reconduct the rating in the focus activity and discuss the differences, if any, in the two rating scores.

Extension Activity:

Have students conduct a media watch for conspiracy theories, which might be reported in the news media or even be part of the entertainment media (e.g., the film "JFK," the television program "The X Files," etc.). Have students report on the conspiracy and its assumptions.

CIVIC PARTICIPATION

What can students do to address the issues of violence, intolerance, and apathy within their community? In this lesson sequence, students take an active role in addressing community problems with civic participation projects.

Lesson # 9: Civic Participation

Overview:

In the face of a crisis such as the Oklahoma City bombing, a natural disaster, or civil strife, students often feel helpless and fearful. It is important to provide them with opportunities to get involved and help address the needs of the community. This lesson sequence provides teachers with a step-by-step process for empowering students to plan and implement civic participation projects in the community. The student material consists of six handouts that can help guide students through all stages of a community service project.

List of Student Materials:

- Handout 1 briefly describes The Six Basic Steps of an Action Project. It shows students the six steps they will have to take: (1) select a problem to work on, (2) research the problem, (3) choose a project, (4) plan the project, (5) do the project, and (6) evaluate what you've done.
- Handout 2 focuses on How to Plan the Project. This is the step that students will need the most help with. It provides a step-by-step guide for planning a project and filling out a blank project plan, which is what Handout 3 is.
- Handout 3 is a blank Project Plan for students to fill out.
- Handout 4 is a list of Project Ideas designed to address issues of violence, terrorism, and healing.
- Handout 5—Skills for Action Projects, offers tips students can use to plan and implement their project. It consists of three sections:
  - Handout 5A shows students how to create and conduct an opinion survey.
  - Handout 5B gives pointers on interviewing and speaking in public.
  - Handout 5C tells how to track down resources in governmental, non-profit, business, and media organizations who can help with a project.

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- Handout 6 lists Useful Books for civic participation.

Steps for Teaching Civic Participation Lesson:

(1) Decide in advance:

- How much class time can students spend on a project?
- Will you limit the project to school or can students do a project that requires them to go off-site?
- Will the whole class do one project or will separate groups do their own project?
- Will you decide on a project in advance and guide the students to choose that project, or will you give the students several projects to choose from, or will you let the students decide for themselves on a project? (Note: The more decisions students make themselves, the greater their buy-in to the project.)

(2) Introduce the lesson. Explain to your class that they are going to do an action project to help their community. Set the guidelines (time, place, manner) for their projects. It's also a good idea to assign students to keep individual journals about the project. This will aid your individual evaluation of the students.

(3) Preview the steps. Distribute Handout 1 to the class and discuss the basic steps on an action project.

(4) Select a problem. Brainstorm a list of community problems. Have students meet in small groups, select the three top problems, and report back to the whole class. Get a class consensus on the problem that students want to work on.

(5) Research the problem. Your students' research will depend on what problem they select and what they need to find out. In general, they should look for answers to four questions: What causes the problem? What are its effects on the community? What is being done about the problem? Who is working on the problem or interested in it? They should also be looking for ideas for action projects. Students should report to the class what they discover. To find answers, they can:

- Invite community experts to speak to the class on the problem. (Distribute Handout 5C so they can find experts.)
- Interview experts. (Distribute Handouts 5B and 5C.)
- Look in the library. (Distribute Handout 6 for a list of books students might find at the library.)
- Explore the media—watch television news, listen to radio news, read the newspaper, or search the Internet.
- Conduct a survey. (Distribute Handout 5A.)

(6) Decide on an action project. Distribute Handout 4 and discuss the project ideas on it. The class can brainstorm additional project ideas. Then in groups, they can select the top three ideas. Regroup the class and decide on a project.

(7) Plan the project. Have students read Handout 2. If teams are doing different projects, have each team submit a project plan (Handout 3). If the whole class is doing the same project, you can plan the project as a whole group or you can assign a committee to submit a project plan (on Handout 3) for the whole class to review.

(8) Do the project. Distribute Handouts 5A, B, and C, as needed. If the whole class is doing the project, tasks may be divided among committees with a project coordinating committee overseeing the entire project.

(9) Evaluate the project. Do a formal evaluation of the project's success. Have students also evaluate how well they planned, how well they worked as a team, and what they learned from the project.

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The Aftermath of Terror

On April 19, 1995, a large bomb exploded in front of the nine-story Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. The explosion claimed the lives of 168 people, 19 of them children. News of the tragedy spread quickly. Based on early media reports, rumors flew speculating that foreign terrorists had set off the bomb. Representatives of Arab and Muslim Americans reported threats and feared retaliation. Rescue workers performed heroically until all hope for trapped survivors was lost. On television vast numbers of Americans watched as the people of Oklahoma City grieved and buried the victims of the most deadly example of terrorism in U.S. history. As the grim business of recovering bodies continued, the FBI and other law enforcement agencies launched a massive investigation to bring the killers to justice. Domestic terror had scarred the heart of America.

An Early Breakthrough

Within an hour of the bombing, the FBI sent teams of investigators to Oklahoma City to crack the case. One important clue came when an agent, searching the streets near the federal building, found a scrap of metal, twisted by the blast. It turned out to be a piece of a truck axle with a vehicle identification number etched upon it. These numbers are placed on auto parts to help identify stolen vehicles. A second important clue came from a bank videotape camera across the street from the federal building. Its tape showed a Ryder rental truck parked in front of the building just before the blast. The FBI traced the truck to a rental company in Junction City, Kansas, some 270 miles from the bombing site.

The truck had been rented two days before the bombing, but the two men who had rented it had used phony identification. Still, the FBI got descriptions and turned them into composite sketches, which they broadcast nationwide. Armed with the drawings, the FBI spread out around Junction City asking questions. At a local motel, the owner identified one of the sketches as Tim McVeigh, a man who had stayed at her motel and checked out the day before the bombing.

Tips from the public also started coming in. A former co-worker of McVeigh's recognized him from the composite sketch. He told the FBI that McVeigh had been in the army and hated the government. McVeigh, according to the informer, was especially angry about the federal raid on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas. During the siege of the compound, 86 men, and children died, mostly in a fire started by cult members during the final assault. Four federal agents also died. The date of the final assault was especially important. It took place on April 19, two years to the day of the Oklahoma bombing. Investigators began to realize that the bomb had not been set off by foreign fanatics, but by Americans.

Unknown to the FBI at the time, McVeigh was already in custody. A state trooper, spotting no license plates on McVeigh's car, had pulled him over some 60 miles north of Oklahoma City less than 90 minutes after the bombing. Noticing a bulge under McVeigh's jacket, the officer seized a 9-mm pistol hidden there and arrested him. By searching its national database, the FBI discovered McVeigh's whereabouts and took him into custody, just 30 minutes before he was scheduled to be released.

McVeigh's real driver's license offered the FBI another important clue. He gave as his address a farm in Decker, Michigan, owned by James Nichols. FBI agents raided the farm and interviewed neighbors,

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who claimed Nichols built small bombs and had some connection to extremist groups. Nichols' brother, Terry, an army friend of McVeigh, soon gave himself up to authorities as well. The two brothers were held as material witnesses.

With the arrests, federal prosecutors began building what has been called a "strong circumstantial" case against McVeigh and Terry Nichols.

The Federal Prosecution

On August 10, 1995, some four months after the bombing, federal prosecutors obtained grand jury indictments against McVeigh, Terry Nichols, and a friend who served in the army with them, Michael Fortier. McVeigh and Nichols were charged with one count of conspiracy to use a weapon of mass destruction to kill people and destroy property and one count of using such a device that caused death and injury. They were also charged with malicious destruction of federal property and eight counts of murdering federal law enforcement officers. If convicted, the defendants could face the death penalty.

The bombing in Oklahoma and its investigation brought to national attention the existence of the so-called militia movement.

Fortier was charged with conspiracy to transport stolen firearms and actually transporting them. He was also charged with concealing evidence, making false statements to the FBI, and failing to report the bomb plot to authorities. Charges were dismissed against James Nichols.

According to prosecutors, all three defendants hated the federal government, and the conspiracy to bomb the federal building began as early as September 13, 1994, when McVeigh and others met in Fortier's trailer in Kingman, Arizona. The prosecutors claimed that McVeigh and Nichols planned the bombing and selected the target and that McVeigh delivered the bomb to the site. Among the evidence prosecutors promised to produce are witnesses who can place McVeigh at the bombing site and who will identify him as the one who rented the Ryder truck. They also claimed that they can prove that he or Nichols bought a ton of ammonium-nitrate fertilizer, the explosive that fueled the bomb. Also they claimed that other bomb materials, which could have been used in making the device, were found at Nichols' home.

Michael Fortier pleaded guilty to the charges in his indictment and is expected to testify for the prosecution. It is alleged that he will testify that he helped McVeigh check out the Murrah Federal Building and helped dispose of firearms stolen to help finance the bombing.

McVeigh and Nichols pleaded not guilty to all charges. The defense characterized the prosecutor's promised proof as a "thin circumstantial case." Based on news reports, the defense will also argue that the prosecution has the wrong defendants. For example, it points to evidence found at the bombing site which it alleges demonstrates that the real bombers died in the blast. The defense will also seek to discredit the testimony of Fortier, who claimed no knowledge of the events when first questioned by the FBI. Finally, the defense argued that a fair trial would be impossible in Oklahoma. A judge agreed that the case should not be tried in Oklahoma City and scheduled the trial in Lawton, Oklahoma, which is 100 miles away. The defense has appealed this ruling.

For their part, federal authorities promised to continue investigating to determine if more people were involved.

The Militia Connection

The bombing in Oklahoma and its investigation brought to national attention the existence of the so-called militia movement. Allegations arose that McVeigh had contact with the Michigan Militia Corps, a group that claims 12,000 members. Group representatives say that McVeigh was not a member, and McVeigh denies having attended meetings. For their part, the Michigan militia and other groups deny any connection to the bombing. Still, the defendants and the militia seem to share many similar ideas.

Experts claim that militia groups can be found in more than 30 states and may involve up to 100,000 Americans. Many of the groups hold paramilitary

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exercises and practice with firearms. Some groups, like the Aryan Nations, the Order, and the Ku Klux Klan, believe in white supremacy and sow hatred against minorities. Others, like the Michigan militia and a larger group called the Unorganized Militia of the United States, disavow racism and anti-semitism.

While it is difficult to characterize such diverse groups, they seem to have certain things in common. All of the groups seem to hate and deeply distrust the federal government. Most of the groups seem to believe the government is involved in some kind of conspiracy to deprive Americans of their liberties. Some believe that the federal government is controlled by Jews who are trying to destroy white Christians. Others believe that the government is part of a multinational conspiracy called The New World Order, which plans to take away American sovereignty. They worry that the United Nations is using foreign military forces to spy on Americans and is plotting to take control.

Almost all of the groups strongly believe that the U.S. Constitution's Second Amendment gives Americans the right to own any kind of firearm. They view recent federal gun control legislation, especially the assault weapons ban, as an attack on basic liberty. For this reason, many hate and distrust the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), which is charged with enforcing federal gun laws.

Of particular concern to many militia members, as it was to McVeigh, was the tragic raid at Waco against David Koresh and his followers. Many viewed the raid as mass murder by the U.S. government and a demonstration of how ruthless the ATF had become. Federal authorities, while acknowledging mistakes, argued that the actions were legal and the deaths resulted from the actions of the Davidians.

Another rallying cry of the militias concerned the case of white supremacist Randy Weaver in 1992. During a standoff with authorities, Weaver's wife and teen-aged son were killed, as was one FBI agent. Weaver was later acquitted of murder-conspiracy charges, but federal authorities denied any wrongdoing. Still, the government settled a wrongful death case with the family for $3.1 million.

The revelations about the militia movement divided American opinion. Some believe that the militia members are basically law-abiding people who like firearms and maneuvers and are just exercising their constitutional rights. Others view the groups with alarm as armed and dangerous right-wing fanatics who advocate violence and the overthrow of our democratically elected government.

The Political Fall-Out

While virtually all Americans condemned those who bombed the Oklahoma City federal building, opinions differ about what to do about terrorism and the growing militia movement.

Within days of the bombing, President Clinton proposed a bi-partisan effort to strengthen national anti-terrorist laws. The proposal, among other things, would make planning a terrorist act a federal crime, ease restrictions on information gathering by the FBI against suspected terrorist groups, and provide more money for counterterrorism efforts. While the proposal enjoyed support from both parties, the process became partisan over the issue of repeal of the federal assault weapons ban and the effect the legislation might have on civil liberties.

No matter what the results of the trial or the various investigations, the impact of the Oklahoma City bombing on America will be long-lasting.

As Congress considered the terrorism bill, more controversy erupted. President Clinton made a speech criticizing voices in America that promoted hatred of government and violence against authority. He also argued that such voices encouraged actions like the Oklahoma bombing. His remarks were interpreted as an attack on a number of conservative talk radio shows. Republicans reacted angrily, claiming that the president was playing politics with the Oklahoma tragedy and trying to chill free speech.

Soon the Democrats would make similar charges. The Republican-controlled Congress held hearings on the events in Waco. Democrats charged that the hearings were unnecessary and designed only to embarrass the Clinton administration. They also

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charged that the National Rifle Association had helped Republicans re-open the case. Republicans countered that the hearings' purpose was only to get to the truth and determine whether there had been any government wrongdoing.

No matter what the results of the trial or the various investigations, the impact of the Oklahoma City bombing on America will be long-lasting. It remains to be seen how it will affect our sense of security or what measures will be taken to counter terrorism. It also remains to be seen whether the tragedy that brought Americans together in grief and concern will ultimately drive us apart as we debate the issues it raised. Only one thing is certain. For those who lost loved ones and friends on that terrible April day, life has been changed forever. As the people of Oklahoma City try to heal and rebuild, the rest of us must strive to eliminate violence, hatred, and extremism from the American political scene.

For Discussion

1. Why did some people target Arab and Muslim Americans for blame in the bombings?
2. What evidence led the FBI to arrest McVeigh and the other defendants?
3. What beliefs do militia groups share? Why do they hold these beliefs?
4. What political issues arose after the Oklahoma bombing investigation?
5. What can individuals and groups do to reduce conflict in American politics?

A C T I V I T Y

A Written Debate

In this activity, class members will prepare brief written position statements on various issues raised in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing and hold a debate on the issues.

1. Have class members select one of the following topics to debate and choose a pro or con position:
   A) It will be impossible for the defendants in the bombing case to get a fair trial in Oklahoma.
   B) States should pass laws making private paramilitary training illegal.
   C) Both parties are playing politics with the Oklahoma tragedy.
   D) Americans should be willing to give up some freedoms to be secure from terrorism.
2. After selecting a topic, write a position statement of no more than one page, pro or con. Provide reasons for your position using examples from the reading, your own ideas, and additional research.
3. Group class members in pro and con groups for each topic. Have members of each group review and critique one another's position statements. Then develop a consensus argument drawing the best ideas from each paper.
4. Hold a class debate on each of the four topics using the consensus positions. Decide which group made the best arguments.

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#2: U.S. Government

Terrorism: How Have Other Countries Handled It? How Should We?

The bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, did more than end the lives of 168 persons. It also brought terrorism to the heartland of America.

For the past 25 years, terrorists have operated in many countries. Except for a few small, violent leftist groups during the Vietnam War years, the United States has been relatively free of this plague. A sign of things to come, however, occurred in 1993 when a massive explosion destroyed the underground garage of the World Trade Center in New York City killing six. Those responsible belonged to a group of Arab extremists who viewed America as an evil force in the world. But the Oklahoma City bombing was apparently the work of one or more Americans angry at their own government. If this is true, the sort of home-grown violent groups other countries have been combating for years may be finally taking root in the United States.

What is terrorism? The British government, which has been fighting terrorism in Northern Ireland since the late 1960s, defines it as "the use of violence for political ends." This includes "any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public . . . in fear." Terrorist groups typically reject democratic means of change, like elections, and believe that only violence can bring about their political goals.

Terrorists often strike out at ordinary, innocent people—even children. They want to show that the government cannot protect its own citizens. When the government tries to increase public safety by restricting certain freedoms, the terrorists are likely to charge that it has become a dictatorship not worthy of public support. The aim of terrorists is to turn people against the government.

While most Americans may not know much about terrorists and how they behave, other nations have had a great deal of experience. Especially in Europe, democracies have shown that terrorism can be eliminated or at least greatly reduced. How have other countries fought terrorism within their borders? What should we do about it here?

West Germany: Red Army Faction

Since 1970, the most dangerous terrorists in Europe have been associated with Marxist and other left-wing revolutionary groups. One of the first of these violent groups to form was the Red Army Faction (RAF), also known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang. Operating mostly in West Germany throughout the 1970s, the RAF directed its terrorist acts at "American imperialism." Targets included the U.S. military as well as German political and business leaders. The Red Army Faction carried out bombings, shootings, kidnappings, and bank robberies.

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ANTI-TERRORISM BILL

In June 1995, the Senate passed an anti-terrorism bill by a 91-8 vote. The House has yet to act on the bill. Highlights of the bill include:

- **"Roving" wiretaps.** Federal authorities could tap all telephones used by a suspected terrorist without getting warrants for each line tapped.
- **Military aid.** The FBI could ask the military for help in terrorism cases involving chemical or biological weapons. Currently, the military can only aid the FBI in cases involving nuclear weapons.
- **Access to credit card, phone, and hotel records.** The FBI could get access to these records in foreign terrorism cases.
- **Easier deportation.** The government could deport suspected immigrant terrorists at closed court hearings.
- **Limited death-row appeals.** The bill sets a one-year time limit on most of these appeals.
- **More federal law-enforcement officers.** The bill would create an anti-terrorism center and pay for about 1,000 new federal police.
- **Increased penalties.** The bill increases federal penalties for terrorism and for conspiracies involving explosives. It allows the death penalty for terrorist murders.
- **Taggants in chemicals.** It requires that tiny traceable materials, or taggants, be put in chemicals that can be used for bombs.
- **Lawsuits against terrorist nations.** It allows U.S. citizens injured by terrorism to sue any nations linked to the terrorist act.

From 1970 to 1979, the RAF killed 31 persons, injured about 100, took 163 hostages, and was responsible for 25 bombings. Among those killed were the attorney general of West Germany, the head of a national employer association, and several American soldiers stationed in West Germany.

One of the early anti-terrorist measures taken by the West German government was to require all government employees to take a loyalty oath. But this measure was soon criticized as a pointless intrusion into people's lives and was virtually abandoned.

In 1976, West Germany made it a crime to establish a terrorist organization. Other changes in the law increased police powers. With court approval, the police could search entire apartment buildings for suspected terrorists. The police could also establish checkpoints on roadways to stop and inspect the identification of travelers.

The West Germans expanded their intelligence gathering agencies. They also organized a crack anti-terrorist reaction unit. This unit reportedly could assemble in 15 minutes and deploy anywhere in the country within an hour with high-speed helicopters, special land vehicles, and high-tech weapons.

At first, the West Germans granted concessions to the Red Army Faction terrorists in hostage situations. But this only prompted the RAF to take more hostages and demand that the government release RAF leaders in prison. In 1975, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt reversed the policy of granting concessions to terrorists. When he refused to give in to RAF demands after it took over the West German embassy in Stockholm, Sweden, two diplomats died before the hostage-takers were killed or captured. But hostage-taking by the RAF dropped off after this incident. Most governments today say they do not negotiate or grant concessions to terrorists. But experts caution never to say never.

By the early 1980s, most Red Army Faction members were either dead or in prison. The success of this West German anti-terrorist effort was due mainly to good intelligence and police work that did not seriously threaten the civil liberties of the people.

Italy: Red Brigades

The Red Brigades began forming in Milan auto factories around 1970. These revolutionary groups were led by Marxist university students who believed that the workers were ready to rise up against their capitalist masters. Soon the Red Brigades started committing major terrorist acts throughout Italy.

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They participated in kidnappings, bombings, political assassinations, and shootings. A favorite tactic was "kneecapping," shooting victims in the legs to permanently cripple them.

During the 1970s and early 1980s, Red Brigade terrorists committed more than 10,000 acts of political violence and took the lives of over 400 persons. This group's most notorious act was the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro, the former leader of Italy. His brutal killing ended whatever sympathy Italians had for the Red Brigades. Nearly four years later, Red Brigade terrorists kidnapped General James Lee Dozier, the American NATO commander. But, by this time, Italian anti-terrorist intelligence units were closing in, and Dozier was rescued.

As Red Brigade violence grew during the 1970s, the Italian government increased the authority of police to stop, search, and detain terrorist suspects. Individuals who refused to identify themselves could be held and questioned for up to 24 hours without having a lawyer present. Restrictions on telephone wiretaps were eased. It became a crime to join, organize, or promote any group seeking to overthrow the democratic system through violence.

One of the most successful tactics used by the Italian government was to reduce the sentences of convicted terrorists if they volunteered information about Red Brigade leaders and activities. Many youthful Brigade members, facing decades behind bars, chose to cooperate with the authorities. Consequently, the Red Brigade movement began to collapse. Over 800 members were arrested following the rescue of Gen. Dozier in January 1982.

By the mid-1980s, the Red Brigades were nearly extinct. As in Germany, the Italian government managed to wipe out a dangerous terrorist threat with minimal disruption to the rights of ordinary citizens.

Northern Ireland: Protestants vs. Catholics

In the 1920s, the British Parliament divided Ireland into two parts. It granted independence to most of the island, whose inhabitants are over 90 percent Catholic. It retained, however, the northern six counties as part of Great Britain. Northern Ireland, also called Ulster, is about 60 percent Protestant and 40 percent Catholic.

Since the partition of Ireland, the Protestants and Catholics in Ulster have had different political goals. The Protestant majority, which dominates the Ulster government, wants Northern Ireland to remain a part of Great Britain. The Catholic minority, which fears discrimination by the Protestants, wants Northern Ireland to unify with the independent nation of Ireland. If this were to happen, the Protestants would become an instant minority. They fear they would then be subject to Catholic discrimination. Because of these fears, religious and political hatreds fueled by terrorist violence have divided the Protestant and Catholic communities in Northern Ireland for more than half a century.

In 1969, rioting reached such a dangerous state that the British Army was sent to Northern Ireland to restore order. The army remains to this day due to continued violence by both Protestant and Catholic terrorist groups.

Over the past 25 years, terrorists have killed more than 3,000 persons in Northern Ireland. About 800 bombings have taken place. While most of the

American Opinion on Steps for Fighting Terrorism

The following are the results from a nationwide poll conducted by the *Los Angeles Times* on April 26 and 27, 1995.

Do you think the anti-terrorism laws in this country are too strong, too weak or are they about what they need to be?

Too strong: 3%
Too weak: 57%
About right: 21%
Don't know: 19%

How concerned are you that new measures enacted to fight terrorism in this country may end up restricting some of our civil liberties?

Concerned: 70%
Not concerned: 28%
Don't know: 2%

If law enforcement officials are given the tools they need, do you think they will be able to prevent all future terrorist attacks in the United States, many of them, only a few, or none of them?

All: 4%
Many: 36%
Few: 48%
None: 8%
Don't know: 4%

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While most Americans may not know much about terrorists and how they behave, other nations have had a great deal of experience.

terrorism has occurred in Northern Ireland, bombings and other violent acts have also been carried out on the British mainland.

The Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1978, granted significant powers to the army, police, and prosecutors. Under certain circumstances, police may conduct searches and arrests without warrants. Police may detain "suspected terrorists" for up to 72 hours before bringing them before a judge. Jury trials in criminal cases have been abolished because terrorist groups have intimidated jurors. During trial, prosecutors may submit evidence by affidavit instead of calling witnesses to testify in person. The burden of proof in illegal firearms possession cases is placed on the defendant.

Britain also has a Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act, which has been renewed annually since 1974. This act outlaws certain groups that have advocated violence, such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The act also authorizes the detention of suspects without charge for up to seven days.

Unlike West Germany and Italy, Great Britain has not put terrorist organizations out of action. One major reason for this is the widespread support and protection terrorists get from the Protestant and Catholic communities in Northern Ireland.

The presence of the British Army in Northern Ireland along with major restrictions on civil rights have, however, considerably reduced the level of violence. Recently, the Irish Republican Army, long banned as a terrorist organization by the British government, announced the "complete cessation" of violence. This led the British to agree to talk with the IRA and others about a permanent political settlement for Northern Ireland.

United States: Security vs. Freedom

The United States undoubtedly needs to take steps to prevent terrorism at home, something other countries have done for decades. But should traditional American rights and freedoms be sacrificed in order to crack down on terrorist groups and suspects? Yale law professor Stephen Carter warns, "If terrorists can cause us to become a closed and fearful society, they win."

Since the World Trade Center bombing, owners of the New York City office complex are spending $25 million annually for security guards, surveillance cameras, and other anti-terrorist measures. Should the same sort of thing be done in government buildings? Should the police be given special powers to search and interrogate terrorist suspects? Should potentially violent organizations be outlawed? James Q. Wilson, professor of public policy at UCLA, thinks that the best way to control terrorists within the United States is to make use of informants and FBI undercover agents. In any case, Americans can no longer assume that the threat of terrorism is only a problem for other countries.

For Discussion and Writing

1. Why do terrorists commit seemingly senseless acts of violence, like the Oklahoma City bombing?
2. What differences and similarities do you see among the terrorists who have operated in West Germany, Italy, and Northern Ireland?
3. Imagine that an airliner with men, women, and children aboard has been hijacked on an airport runway by terrorists. The terrorists demand $1 million, a helicopter to aid their escape, and that their "manifesto" be read over television. What do you think authorities should do in this situation? What do you think they should not do?

For Further Reading

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A C T I V I T Y

Terrorism Prevention Act

Listed below are six hypothetical measures similar to those used by other countries to combat terrorism within their borders. In this activity, students will imagine that they are members of Congress considering whether or not the United States should adopt any of these measures.

1. Form six congressional committees. Assign each committee one of the anti-terrorist measures to evaluate.
2. Each committee should draw up a list of pros and cons for the measure it is evaluating. After doing this, the committee members should vote whether to recommend it to be included in a U.S. "Terrorism Prevention Act." Committee members may choose to change the wording of the measure they wish to recommend.
3. Each committee should report its recommendation to the full Congress giving both majority and minority views. Other groups may then ask questions or argue points.
4. After all committees have reported, the Congress as a whole will vote on each measure reported out of committee.

Anti-Terrorist Measures

1. Additional security police will be hired to patrol inside and outside of all federal buildings with authority to inspect any bags, briefcases, packages, or vehicles.
2. The U.S. attorney general will draw up a list of terrorist organizations seeking to cause political change by violent means. Membership in any of these groups will be a criminal offense.
3. Each applicant for federal employment will be required to take a loyalty oath to the U.S. Constitution and affirm he or she is not, and has never been, a member of any terrorist organization.
4. The FBI and other federal law enforcement agencies will be permitted to use court-approved warrants to search entire apartment buildings for terrorist suspects and evidence.
5. The FBI will be authorized to form, equip, and train an elite strike force to combat terrorist groups and make rescues in hostage situations.
6. Individuals convicted of terrorist acts may have their sentences reduced if they volunteer significant intelligence information to federal law enforcement authorities.

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The Palmer "Red Raids"

The bombing at Oklahoma City marks the worst terrorist act on U.S. soil. But it is far from the first time Americans have had to deal with terrorism. Following World War I, a series of terrorist bombings evoked a response from the U.S. attorney general that many believe violated basic constitutional rights.

In the spring of 1919, A. Mitchell Palmer became attorney general of the United States under President Woodrow Wilson. Shortly after his appointment, Palmer's house was damaged by a bomb. More bombs exploded in a number of American cities. Palmer blamed these bombings on communists, anarchists, and other political radicals. Many Americans called these people "reds," after the color of the Russian communist flag.

In 1917, the Russian Revolution had established the world's first communist nation. The revolution greatly disturbed many Americans who feared that communist sympathizers would try the same thing in the United States. This fear prompted Palmer to take action.

Working with Bureau of Immigration officials, Palmer decided to launch a massive round-up of aliens (non-U.S. citizens) suspected of having revolutionary views. The purpose of these "Red Raids" was to arrest and deport so-called dangerous foreigners before they could bring about a violent revolution in America.

The Palmer "Red Raids"

Building on earlier immigration laws, Congress passed the Deportation Act of 1918. This law authorized the deportation of any alien who:

[1] opposed all organized government (anarchism);

[2] advocated the overthrow of the government "by force or violence"; or

[3] belonged to any organization teaching these views.

For example, the secretary of labor eventually ruled the U.S. Communist Party advocated violent revolution. Therefore, any alien who was a member of that organization could be deported. The Bureau of Immigration (then part of the Department of Labor) often decided who would be deported under this law.

Even though the Department of Justice did not normally handle deportation matters, Attorney General Palmer created an alliance with officials in the Bureau of Immigration to find and deport alien "reds." J. Edgar Hoover, Palmer's chief investigating officer, ordered Justice Department agents to go undercover and join suspected radical organizations.

By December 1919, Palmer, Hoover, and their allies in the Bureau of Immigration had decided to arrest alien members of the Communist Party and other foreign radicals. Hoover issued the instructions to Department of Justice agents that called for the arrests to take place during a series of raids planned for the evening of January 2, 1920.

The Palmer "Red Raids" took place on schedule in more than 30 cities, mainly in Eastern states. Between 6,000 and 10,000 people were arrested. In many cases, arrest warrants had not been issued until *after* individuals found themselves in custody. Moreover, Department of Justice agents rarely carried search warrants during the raids. Nevertheless, the raiders seized political literature, membership cards and lists, organization records, and other papers. Little evidence of revolutionary or criminal activity actually turned up. Days after the raids, thousands of aliens were still being held without formal charge, without bail, without the assistance of a lawyer and in many cases, without family or friends knowing where they were.

The Deportation Hearings

The arrested aliens were not charged with any crime. Only one question mattered: Did they believe in radical ideas or belong to any organization that did? In any case that the government established this, the alien could be deported. Instead, the judgment to deport or not deport an alien was made by an immigration inspector in a secret hearing.

During a typical deportation hearing at this time, the immigration inspector acted as arresting officer, prosecutor, judge, jury, and recording clerk. A defense lawyer was not permitted to attend while the immigration inspector questioned the alien (many of whom understood little English). The interrogation focused not only on what the alien had done and said, but also on his or her beliefs and thoughts. The aliens arrested did not get the standard due process

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protections granted criminal suspects.

In one well-documented case, Gaspare Cannone was arrested without charge or warrant by Department of Justice agents in New York City. Cannone, who spoke limited English, was beaten and kicked when he refused to give evidence against other people. After being held in secret for 72 hours, agents took him to Ellis Island and turned him over to Bureau of Immigration officials. Following questioning by an immigration inspector, Cannone refused to sign a statement admitting he was an anarchist. But someone forged his signature to the statement anyway.

Palmer on the Defensive

The "Red Raids" drew much criticism in the press and Congress. In response, Attorney General Palmer issued a letter to the nation's press. "My one desire," he wrote, "is to acquaint people like you with the real menace of evil-thinking, which is the foundation of the Red movement." He then described the movement as calling for "the destruction of all ownership of property, the destruction of all religion and belief in God."

Despite Palmer's letter, the controversy continued. Four months after the raids, a prominent group of lawyers and judges published a report documenting dozens of cases of due process violations. It concluded that, "There is no danger of revolution so great as that created by...deliberate violations of the simple rules of American law and American decency."

A division developed within the federal government between Attorney General Palmer and Assistant Secretary of Labor Louis F. Post. Post personally reviewed the records of the deportation hearings that had been conducted by Bureau of Immigration inspectors under his authority. Refusing to cooperate with Palmer's plan to deport large numbers of aliens, Post overruled more than 1,500 deportation orders. He concluded: "the hearings show the aliens arrested to be working men of good character who have never been arrested before, who are not anarchists or revolutionists, nor politically or otherwise dangerous in any sense."

As a result, Palmer's supporters in Congress attacked Post. They introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives to impeach him and a House committee summoned Post to testify. Post used this occasion to condemn the violations of due process of law that had occurred during the whole affair. Post further took the position that even aliens "are entitled to the protection of our Constitution."

Louis Post's aggressive testimony before the House committee put a quick end to the impeachment campaign against him. Later, in a book giving his account of the Palmer "Red Raids," Post wrote that "the public mind was under the influence of what must always be regarded as a monstrous social delirium."

During a typical deportation hearing at this time, the immigration inspector acted as arresting officer, prosecutor, judge, jury, and recording clerk.

Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer never gave in to his critics. Testifying in 1921 before a Senate committee investigating the raids, Palmer made this statement:

"I apologize for nothing that the Department of Justice has done... I glory in it. I point with pride and enthusiasm to the results of that work; and if agents of the Department of Labor were a little rough and unkind...with these alien agitators I think it might well be overlooked in the general good to the country."

For Discussion and Writing

1. Do you agree or disagree with the 1918 law that required the deportation of aliens if they believed in certain radical ideas or joined organizations that argued for the violent overthrow of the government? Should a distinction be made between a person's beliefs and a person's actions? Explain.
2. Read the Fifth Amendment of the Bill of Rights. Do you think this amendment should protect only American citizens, or should it also protect aliens living in the United States?
3. Read again the statement by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer quoted at the end of the article. Write a newspaper editorial that either agrees or disagrees with his views.

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4. Can you imagine any modern circumstances in the United States where a group of people are so dangerous to society that it would be justifiable to jail or deport them without due process of law? Describe these circumstances as specifically as possible. What are the arguments *against* arresting them without due process of law?

The Fifth Amendment (1791)

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ACTIVITY

In the Matter of Thomas Truss

On a case-by-case basis, Assistant Secretary of Labor Louis E. Post made the final decision whether to deport the aliens who had been arrested and held as a result of the Palmer "Red Raids." Post released many of the aliens, but in about 500 cases Post did order aliens to be deported.

1. After reading the facts in the following case, meet in small groups to decide whether Secretary Post should have deported or released Thomas Truss. Review the provisions of the Deportation Act of 1918 in the article. This was the law on which Secretary Post based his decision in the Truss case.
2. After all groups have finished discussing the Truss case, they should report their decisions to the rest of the class. Each group should explain its reasons for its decision and point out which facts in the case they considered most important.
3. Debrief the activity by asking:
   - What "due process" violations occurred in this case?
   - Should aliens enjoy the same due process rights as American citizens? Why or why not?

Facts

Thomas Truss, age 33, was born in Poland. He legally entered the United States in 1907. Five years later, he was married and subsequently became the father of three children, all native-born American citizens. Truss, however, remained a citizen of Poland.

Employed as a coat presser in Baltimore, Maryland, Truss became the president of the city's clothing workers' union. For a time, he also was a member of a workers' organization made up mainly of Russian immigrants.

On January 7, 1920, police officers came to Truss' home and arrested him without a warrant. He was taken to a local police station and told that he was wanted by the Department of Justice. But he was not informed why he was wanted. Truss was locked up for the night without being allowed to tell his family or friends where he was.

The following day an agent of the Department of Justice questioned Truss and wrote down all of his statements. Truss was not permitted to have a lawyer present during this interrogation.

On January 9, two days after Truss' arrest, an immigration inspector secured an arrest warrant and took him into federal custody. Truss was held six more days until he was released on $1,000 bail.

Thomas Truss appeared for a deportation hearing before an immigration inspector on January 20. As a result of this hearing and the earlier interrogation, Truss was ordered to leave the United States. The record of this hearing revealed that Truss, along with a number of other Baltimore workers, applied for membership in the Communist Party sometime in the summer of 1919. He did this, however, before the Communist Party was officially organized in Chicago on September 5, 1919. Shortly after this date, the Communist Party sent membership cards to Truss and other Baltimore workers. Truss had previously paid a membership fee and two month's dues. The Communist Party then sent the Baltimore group a charter to form a branch organization. At this point the group requested the Communist Party to send a copy of its constitution and someone to explain the purposes of the organization. When this had not been done by October 1919, the group of Baltimore workers, including Thomas Truss, decided to send the charter back and not hold any more meetings.

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Do We Need a New Constitutional Convention?

Article V of the Constitution provides two methods for adding Amendments. Congress introduces amendments by one method; the states initiate them under the other.

The only method ever used is the congressional method. It lets Congress pass constitutional amendments by a two-thirds majority vote in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Such amendments must then be ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures or special state conventions, as Congress determines. Over 10,000 amendments have been introduced into Congress since 1789. Only 33 have been approved. Of these, 27 have been ratified and added to the Constitution.

The other way of amending the Constitution has never been successfully used. Under this procedure, the states initiate the amending process by petitioning Congress for a constitutional convention. When two-thirds of the states have submitted petitions, Congress must call a convention. Any amendments approved by such a convention must be ratified by three-fourths of the states. Congress decides whether state legislatures or state conventions will ratify these amendments.

Since the Constitution went into effect, there have been about 400 petitions from state legislatures calling for a convention to consider one thing or another. None of these efforts ever succeeded, but some came close. For years Congress ignored requests to pass an amendment allowing for the direct election of U.S. senators. Finally, in 1912, Congress passed the 17th Amendment, but only after supporters of the amendment were just one state short of triggering a constitutional convention.

Since the 1960s, state legislatures have submitted petitions for constitutional conventions when Congress refused to pass controversial amendments. Three of these amendments would have allowed prayers in the schools, prohibited busing for racial balance, and permitted the states to make abortions illegal. In each of these cases, however, supporters fell short of getting the 34 states needed for calling a constitutional convention.

Most recently, there has been a major movement to pass a federal balanced budget amendment. Unable to get action in Congress, supporters again turned to the convention method of amendment. To date, those behind the balanced budget amendment have convinced 32 states to submit convention petitions to Congress. Backers of the amendment need only two more states to compel Congress to call a convention.

Many people have voiced concern over the convention method of amending the Constitution. Our only experience with a national constitutional convention took place 200 years ago. At that time the delegates took it upon themselves to ignore the reason for calling the convention, which was merely to improve the Articles of Confederation. The Founding Fathers also violated the procedure for changing the Articles of Confederation. Instead of requiring approval of all the state legislatures, the signers of the Constitution called for ratification by elected state conventions in only nine of the 13 states.

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Another point of anxiety is that Article V of the Constitution says nothing about what a convention may or may not do. If a convention is held, must it deal with only one proposed amendment? Or could

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Since the Constitution went into effect, there have been about 400 petitions from state legislatures calling for a convention to consider one thing or another.

the delegates vote on any number of amendments that were introduced? The Constitution itself provides no answers to these questions.

Howard Jarvis, the late leader of the conservative tax revolt in California during the 1970s, opposed a convention. He stated that a convention "would put the Constitution back on the drawing board, where every radical crackpot or special interest group would have the chance to write the supreme law of the land."

Others, like Republican Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah, disagree with this viewpoint. Senator Hatch has said it is ironic when the people attempt to engage in "participatory democracy set forth by the Constitution, we are subject to doomsday rhetoric and dire predictions of domestic and international disaster."

Of course, any amendments produced by a convention would still have to be ratified by three-fourths of the states. We may soon see how this never-used method works if the balanced budget people swing two more states over to their side.

For Discussion and Writing

1. Which amendment method do you think is the best? Why?
2. What are some potential dangers in calling a new constitutional convention?
3. Should the delegates of a future convention called to consider a certain amendment have the right to propose other constitutional amendments? Why or why not?
4. Do we need a new constitutional convention? Why or why not? If so, what amendments should be considered by it?

A C T I V I T Y

The "Safe America" Amendment

It is sometime in the near future, and several incidents of terrorism have rocked America. The most recent took place at National Airport in Washington, D.C. Six young men suddenly opened fire with automatic weapons at crowds of summer vacationers in front of the airline check-in counters. Within seconds the terminal was filled with bodies. Twelve people were killed, including a 6-month-old infant. Thirty others were wounded.

Two days later one of the terrorists called a Washington, D.C., talk-radio program. He identified himself as belonging to the "Blood for Blood Movement." He said, "America is the source of evil in the world. Americans must pay with their own blood." The radio interview went on for 45 minutes. The next day many newspapers published parts, or in some cases, all of the interview.

Terrorist acts like the one at National Airport have taken place in restaurants, churches, ball parks, movie theaters, and even at an elementary school. The strategy of the terrorist groups seems to be to attack ordinary innocent Americans. A wide variety of terrorist organizations have openly used the press and broadcast media to take credit for many bombings and murders. Perhaps most frightening of all, an individual carrying parts of a miniaturized nuclear explosive device was recently intercepted while trying to enter the country.

Many efforts have been made to tighten security against terrorism in the United States. While the actual death toll and the chance of being injured in an attack remains small, Americans have become increasingly frightened. Opinion polls call for tougher action. Critics claim that media coverage has blown the situation out of proportion. Others are not so sure.

An organization called "People for a Safe America" has attempted to get Congress to pass the following amendment to the Constitution:

"Safe America" Amendment

Section 1

The citizens of the United States shall enjoy the right of safety from terrorist attack.

Section 2

To enforce this article, Congress shall have the power to establish special military courts solely for the prosecution of persons accused of terrorist acts.

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Such courts shall not be required to observe the provisions contained in Amendments IV, V, VI and VIII of this Constitution.

Section 3

To further enforce this article, Congress shall have the power to ban the manufacture, sale, and possession of all handguns and concealable weapons within the territorial boundaries of the United States.

Section 4

To further enforce this article, Congress shall have the power to pass legislation prohibiting the publication or broadcast of interviews with terrorists or propaganda materials supplied by them.

* * * * *

More than 50 percent of the members in each house of Congress voted for the amendment. Still the votes fell short of the two-thirds majority required by Article V of the Constitution.

A new movement then attempted to get state legislatures to petition Congress for a constitutional convention to consider the "Safe America" Amendment. This effort succeeded. The first constitutional convention in more than 200 years is about to begin.

In this activity, class members will play the role of delegates at a constitutional convention called by Congress to consider the "Safe America" Amendment. Below are the rules and agenda adopted by the convention.

Rules

1. By a simple majority vote, the delegates will choose one person to be president of the convention. The president will conduct all proceedings according to the agenda and will make all necessary rulings. The president will not vote on any matter.
2. Each delegate will serve on a debate committee for or against the proposed amendment. Each committee will consist of at least three persons and convene for at least 15 minutes to consider its arguments. Each member of the committee is responsible for contributing at least one argument.
3. After a motion, second, and discussion, the delegates may, by a simple majority vote, change the wording of the proposed amendment.
4. The final vote on the proposed constitutional amendment will require a two-thirds vote of all delegates present.

Agenda

1. The president of the convention will read the proposed amendment.
2. The president will recognize debate committees in favor of the proposed amendment to present arguments.
3. Delegates may question or rebut the debate committees.
4. The president will recognize debate committees opposed to the proposed amendment to present arguments.
5. Delegates may question or rebut the debate committees.
6. The president will call on two debate committees to present closing arguments for and against the amendment.
7. Delegates may introduce changes in the wording of the proposed amendment.
8. The president will call for a final vote on the proposed amendment.

Debriefing Questions

1. If ratified, what effect would the "Safe America" Amendment have on the rights of individuals in America?
2. What was the quality of the argument raised for or against the amendment? What were the most important arguments? What important arguments were missed?
3. Based on your experience, do you think a constitutional convention is a good way to amend the Constitution?

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Talk Radio: Playground For Free Speech or A Forum For Hate?

Shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing, President Clinton condemned the "many loud and angry voices in America today." He charged that these individuals were trying "to keep some people as paranoid as possible and the rest of us all torn up and upset with each other." The president went on to say, "They spread hate; they leave the impression, by their very words, that violence is acceptable."

Although Clinton did not specifically mention radio talk show hosts in his critical remarks, many people believed that he was in some way blaming them for the terrible bombing. Carol Arnold, host of a radio talk show in Oklahoma City, responded, "It's really unfortunate that the president, after doing such a good job . . . in leading the government to provide backup and support quickly and efficiently, would follow it up by attacking the free speech of talk show hosts."

On the other hand, Alan Colmes, another radio host, tended to agree with the president and expressed his belief that a "poisonous atmosphere" had developed in the country. This, he said, "gives the cowards and the malcontents all the permission they need to do what they do best: hate."

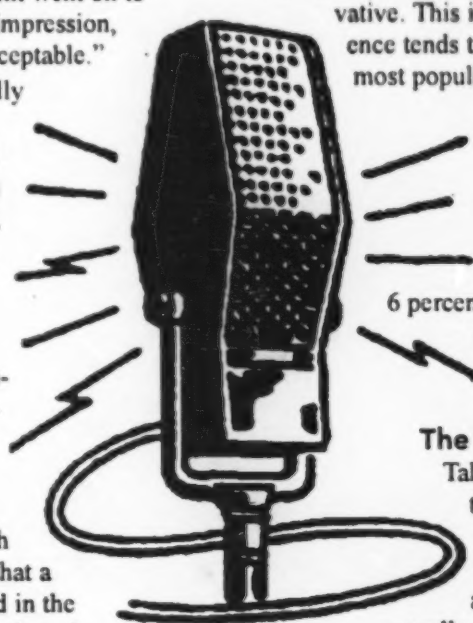
Talk radio is different from most other media because the listeners have an opportunity to immediately participate in what is being discussed. They can talk right back. Moreover, when listeners call in, they do so anonymously ("This is Mary from Detroit."). Anonymity, however, makes it easy for racists and hatemongers of all sorts to express their views all over the public airwaves. Also, some talk show hosts seem to invite or provoke anger and hate. What, if anything, should be done about this?

What Is Talk Radio?

Talk radio has been described as "America's back fence," "the First Amendment's playground," and "half participatory democracy, half cheesy show biz." As a radio format, it has been around since at least the 1960s. But it came into its own as a political powerhouse in 1989 when many talk show hosts across the nation egged on their listeners to force members of Congress to vote against a huge congressional pay raise. Many believe that conservative-leaning talk radio had much to do with the stunning Republican congressional victory in 1994.

Today, talk radio is mostly a local phenomenon. Only a few talk show hosts, like Rush Limbaugh, are considered national successes. Limbaugh, who is very critical of Clinton, is broadcast over 660 stations and heard by an estimated 20-million listeners.

Most talk radio show hosts are politically conservative. This is probably because their audience tends to be conservative. But the most popular hosts seem to be successful more for their personality and wit than their politics.



Who listens to talk radio? Surveys show that most listeners are in their 50s. While millions tune in, only about 6 percent ever call in. Many of the callers, however, often seem to be those who are the most angry and mean-spirited.

The Hosts

Talk show hosts set the tone for the callers. They must be entertaining, provocative, and well-informed. While most are highly opinionated, they usually welcome callers who disagree with them. Hosts want controversy and clashing viewpoints. This is what draws the listeners (and the advertisers). But even before the Oklahoma City bombing and President Clinton's critical remarks

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about "angry voices," some talk show hosts were being accused of inspiring hate and violence.

Part of the criticism directed against certain talk show hosts concerns their use of exaggerated language to get a reaction from listeners. A Cincinnati radio host calls liberals "loathsome dogs to be exterminated." A host on San Francisco talk radio refers to gays as "Nazis trying to steal our freedom." A Phoenix host once told listeners that gun control advocate Sarah Brady should be "put down" like a diseased dog by a vet. This language is often intended to provoke listeners, but some fear it simply makes America a more hateful society.

The hosts, in turn, respond to critics by stating that they are not expressing hatred against racial or ethnic groups. They say their ridicule is directed at those who disagree with their ideas. They also say that any listener who does not like a show can simply tune out.

Some other talk radio hosts have been denounced for encouraging violence. Colorado Springs host Don Baker, a strong opponent of gun control, suggested that his listeners take their guns with them to Washington in the summer of 1994 to protest a proposed federal ban on assault weapons.

G. Gordon Liddy, a Washington, D.C., area talk show host, gave directions on how to shoot intrusive federal ATF (Alcohol, Firearms, and Tobacco) agents, who are responsible for enforcing gun laws. He advised people to aim for the head since ATF agents frequently wear bulletproof vests. He later told listeners that if the head is too hard to hit, "then shoot to the groin area."

In at least one case, a talk show host became the victim of violent hate. In 1984, Alan Berg, a liberal Jewish talk radio host in Denver, was shot to death by an gunman with neo-Nazi views.

Ellen Ratner, a reporter for the Talk Radio News Service and a host herself, argues that the great majority of talk show hosts do not inspire violence or hate. "Blaming talk radio for the bombing in Oklahoma City," she says, "is condemning the Constitution for guaranteeing the right to speak openly."

Many supporters of talk radio believe that critics simply don't like the conservative ideas often expressed on it. They say that talk radio gives conservatives a voice, which they don't have on network television or public radio. They see the rest of the media as biased toward liberals, a charge that other conservatives frequently echo.

An Opinion Poll on Talk Radio

The following are the results from a nationwide poll conducted by the *Los Angeles Times* on April 26 and 27, 1995.

President Clinton has attacked what he called "loud and angry voices" on the public airwaves who he says spread hate and give the impression that violence is acceptable. Do you agree or disagree with the President that such voices pose a problem for our society?

Agree: 62%

Disagree: 31%

Don't know: 7%

How much responsibility—if any—do conservative talk show hosts bear for creating a climate that encouraged the Oklahoma City bombing?

Great deal/Good amount: 36%

Not much/none: 55%

Don't know: 9%

Deregulation of the Air Waves

The airwaves used by radio stations to broadcast their programs belong to the public. Since 1934, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has regulated radio and television. For a number of years, the FCC imposed a "fairness doctrine" on broadcasters. Under this rule, stations had to provide programs on public issues and also opportunities for people with different views to be heard. The idea was to promote free speech by encouraging diversity.

In 1987, however, the FCC abolished the fairness doctrine, as part of the Reagan administration's drive to deregulate industries. The FCC stated that the doctrine was no longer necessary because technology had created many more stations, which provided diversity of opinions. The fairness doctrine, concluded the FCC, actually inhibited public discussion by intimidating broadcasters.

Since then, the FCC has further eased its regulation of the broadcasting industry except in the area of obscenity. Talk radio uses tape delay to screen for this. During this period, talk radio has become a national phenomenon. Now some groups are calling upon the FCC to impose new regulations. Other groups are pressuring radio stations not to carry objectionable programming. To fans, however, talk radio simply allows Americans to exercise a basic right: free speech.

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For Discussion and Writing

1. Why do you think radio talk show callers are usually not required to give their names on the air? Do you think that they should be required to do so anyway? Why or why not?
2. Do you think some radio talk show hosts inspire hate and violence? Explain.
3. Ellen Ratner, reporter for the Talk Radio News Service, says, "Talk radio doesn't inspire anything that isn't already in the American heart? Do you agree or disagree? Why?
4. Do you think the FCC should reimpose the fairness doctrine? Why or why not?

For Further Reading

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Sunstein, Cass R. *Democracy and the Problem of Free Speech*. New York: Free Press, 1993.

A C T I V I T Y

Who Should Be on the Air?

In this activity, students will role play radio station executives deciding whether particular talk radio show hosts should remain on the air.

1. Break into small groups of 3 to 4 students. You are station executives at WXXX. In response to criticism about your talk radio hosts, you have publicly announced a new "Fresh Air" policy. From now on, all your shows will meet three criteria:

   They will be fair. The shows should present a variety of opinions and allow an adequate presentation of the opinions.

   They will not air obscenity. The shows should not air words, phrases, or subjects that, according to community standards, appeal to a lewd interest in sex, are obviously offensive, *and* have no serious artistic, scientific, or social interest.

   They will not incite violence. The shows should not glamorize or in any way promote violence or violent solutions to problems.

2. In each group, meet and review the three talk show hosts below. Decide for each: (1) Does the person meet your new standards? Why or why not? (2) Will you keep the person on the air? Why or why not?
3. Each group should report its findings back to the class. Debrief the activity by discussing these questions:
   - Do you think the "Fresh Air" policy provides good guidelines for a station to use? Explain.
   - Do you think stations should voluntarily use them? Why or why not?
   - Do you think the F.C.C. should impose them? Explain your answer.

Host #1: "Machine Gun" Mike. Mike has consistently received high ratings. Fast-talking, quick-witted, hot-tempered, and highly opinionated, Mike lives for arguments from callers he disagrees with. Although he does call them names ("weirdo," "pinko," "slimeball"), his harangues also contain reasoned arguments. When he's heard enough from someone he dislikes, he says, "Here's what I really think," and plays a tape of machine-gun fire. Several times he's told on the air how he uses pictures of certain politicians as targets at a firing range.

Host #2: "Forever Young" John. John hosts your highest-rated program on the air. His audience consists of adolescents and young males. While he does report his version of the news and sometimes pushes or bashes political candidates, politics is not his major interest. He considers himself a comedian and "shock jock." Proud of speaking his mind, he often insults, ridicules, and belittles callers. He imitates speech patterns of people with accents different from his. He asks callers personal sexual questions. His off-color humor has caused the F.C.C. to fine the station several times for using obscenity on the air.

Host #3: "Wonderful" Wanda. Wanda hosts your afternoon program. Each show usually concentrates on a single issue. She invites guests who agree with her point of view to discuss an issue on the air. Callers ask brief questions, which Wanda and her guests expound on. No caller spends much time on the air, and Wanda particularly cuts short any critical callers.

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A "Clear and Present Danger"

After the Oklahoma City bombing, President Clinton decried the "many loud and angry voices in America today." He did not, however, call for government action against these voices. The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, after all, guarantees freedom of speech. And most Americans support the idea of free speech. But since the First Amendment became part of the Constitution in 1791, American citizens have sometimes gotten into trouble with the government for speaking out. This has happened when a speaker was considered "too unpatriotic," "too radical," or "too dangerous."

Who should have freedom of speech? Should it apply only to those who voice opinions most people agree with? Or, should it be for everyone, even for those who hold opinions that most Americans hate?

Also, what does freedom of speech really mean? Does it mean that someone should be able to say whatever he or she wants at any time or place? Or, should speech sometimes be limited by the law?

Sedition Act of 1798

Just a few years after the First Amendment was added to the Constitution, the federal government passed a law restricting freedom of speech. In 1798, Congress passed the Sedition Act. War seemed likely between the United States and its former ally France. Members of Congress were convinced that people sympathetic to France would try to stir up trouble for the new nation.

Congress and President John Adams believed that the Sedition Act would help control pro-French troublemakers by forbidding criticism of the federal government. "Sedition" generally means the incitement of violent revolution against the government. The Sedition Act of 1798, however, went far beyond this. It required criminal penalties for persons who said or published anything "false, scandalous, or malicious" against the federal government, Congress or the president.

Twenty-five American citizens were arrested under the Sedition Act. Among them was a Congressman who was convicted and imprisoned for calling President Adams a man who had "a continual grasp for power." Another citizen was convicted for painting a sign that read, "Downfall To The Tyrants of America." Still another man was found guilty of sedition for saying that he wished that the wadding of a cannon fired in a salute to President Adams would hit him in the seat of the pants.

Despite the arrests and convictions, many people spoke out against the Sedition Act. The state of Virginia even threatened to secede from the United States over this issue. The act was never legally challenged before the Supreme Court. Instead, it simply expired in 1801. By that time Thomas Jefferson, a bitter political opponent of President Adams and the Sedition Act, had been elected President. He pardoned all those convicted under this law.

"Clear and Present Danger"

Another major attempt to regulate freedom of speech occurred during World War I. In 1917, Congress passed the Federal Espionage Act. This law prohibited all false statements intending to interfere with the military forces of the country or to promote the success of its enemies. In addition, penalties of up to $10,000 and/or 20 years in prison were established for anyone attempting to obstruct the recruitment of men into the military. In 1918, another law was passed by Congress forbidding any statements expressing disrespect for the U.S. government, the Constitution, the flag, or army and navy uniforms.

Almost immediately, Charles Schenck, general secretary of the American Socialist Party, violated these laws. He was arrested and convicted for sending 15,000 anti-draft circulars through the mail to men scheduled to enter the military service. The circular called the draft law a violation of the 13th Amendment's prohibition of slavery. It went on to urge draftees not to "submit to intimidation," but to "petition for repeal" of the draft law.

The government accused Schenck of illegally interfering with military recruitment under the espionage act. Schenck admitted that he had sent the circulars, but argued that he had a right to do so under the First Amendment and was merely exercising his freedom of speech.

The issue found its way to the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Schenck v. United States*, 249

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U.S. 47 (1919). It was the court's first important decision in the area of free speech. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote the opinion of the unanimous Court, which sided with the government. Justice Holmes held that Mr. Schenck was not covered by the First Amendment since freedom of speech was not an absolute right. There were times, Holmes wrote, when the government could legally restrict speech.

According to Justice Holmes, that test is "whether the words...are used in such circumstances as to create a *clear and present danger.*" Holmes said that in Charles Schenck's case the government was justified in arresting him because, "When a nation is at war, many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right."

The Sedition Act of 1798 . . . required criminal penalties for persons who said or published anything "false, scandalous, or malicious" against the federal government, Congress or the president.

In the *Schenck* case, the highest court in the nation ruled that freedom of speech could be limited by the government. But Justice Holmes was careful to say that the government could only do this when there was a "clear and present danger" such as during wartime. While settling one legal issue, however, the Supreme Court created others. For example, what does a "clear and present danger" specifically mean, and when should it justify stopping people from speaking?

The Angry Crowd

Another important free-speech case took place after World War II. It was only a few years after thousands of American soldiers had given their lives to defeat Adolf Hitler and the German Nazis. Arthur Terminiello was speaking before an audience in Chicago. His message was hate. He said that Hitler was right in what he did. He claimed that Democrats, Jews, and communists were all trying to destroy America.

An angry crowd gathered outside the hall where Terminiello was speaking. Bricks and bottles soon rained through the windows as his oratory continued.

Arthur Terminiello was later arrested, tried, and convicted for disturbing the peace with his provocative harangue. Like Charles Schenck 30 years earlier, Terminiello appealed his case to the U.S. Supreme Court (*Terminiello v. Chicago*, 337 U.S. 1). He claimed that he should not have been arrested since his speech was protected by the First Amendment. The city of Chicago, however, argued that the things Terminiello raved about in his speech so angered people that a "clear and present danger" to the safety of the community had occurred.

In 1949 the Supreme Court reversed Terminiello's conviction. (Four of the nine justices dissented.) In the majority opinion, Justice William O. Douglas wrote that "it is only through debate and free exchange of ideas that government remains responsive to the will of the people...." Justice Douglas stated that in a democracy free speech must occur even if it causes disputes, unrest, or "stirs people to anger."

Thus, according to Justice Douglas, "freedom of speech, though not absolute, is protected against censorship or punishment unless shown likely to produce a clear and present danger of serious substantive evil that rises far above public inconvenience, annoyance or unrest."

For Discussion and Writing

1. Do you think the Sedition Act of 1798 was constitutional? Why or why not?
2. Do you think the right to free speech should be absolute? Explain.
3. What circumstances, if any, in peacetime might justify the government in placing limits on freedom of press or speech?

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A C T I V I T Y

When is Speech a "Clear and Present Danger"?

In this activity, students decide four free-speech cases decided by the Supreme Court following World War I.

1. Divide the class into four groups for cases A, B, C, and D. Each group should then be further divided to represent the pro and con sides of one of the free speech cases.
2. The members of each pro and con group should now prepare arguments for their side. Pro groups should review the material on the *Schenck* case presented in this article. Con groups should review the information given on the *Terminiello* case.
3. Following a debate format, the pro and con sides of Case A should present their arguments to the rest of the class. At the conclusion of the debate, the class should vote to determine which side presented the best arguments. This same procedure should be followed for Cases B, C, and D.
4. Debrief the activity by discussing:
   - What were the most important differences in the circumstances of these four cases?
   - How would you define "clear and present danger"? Do you think this is a good standard for setting the limits of free speech? Why or why not?

Free Speech Cases

CASE A: *Debs v. United States*, (1919)

Eugene V. Debs, a leader of the American Socialist Party, addressed an anti-war rally in 1918. At this rally, Debs praised other Socialist leaders who had previously been arrested for opposing the draft law. Debs told his audience (which included draft-age men): "You have your lives to lose.... You need to know that you are fit for something better than slavery and cannon fodder." Debs was arrested, tried, and convicted for violating the 1918 Amendment to the Espionage Act. This law prohibited any speech that interfered with the drafting of men into the armed forces.

DEBATE RESOLUTION: Eugene V. Debs' speech at the anti-war rally was a "clear and present danger" to the laws of the United States.

CASE B: *Frohwerk v. United States*, (1919)

Jacob Frohwerk was the publisher of a pro-German newspaper in Missouri. Shortly after the United States entered World War I, Frohwerk printed a series of 12 articles opposing this action. He was then arrested, tried, and convicted for violating the Espionage Act of 1917.

DEBATE RESOLUTION: Jacob Frohwerk's 12 articles were a "clear and present danger" to the laws of the United States.

CASE C: *Gitlow v. New York*, (1925)

Benjamin Gitlow was a leader of the American Communist Party. After World War I, Gitlow published and distributed 16,000 copies of a Communist Party document called the "Left Wing Manifesto." This document argued for a communist revolution in the United States and urged labor strikes and "class action...having as its objective the conquest of the power of the state." Gitlow was arrested by New York authorities for violating that state's "criminal anarchy" law. This law made it a felony to advocate overthrowing the established government by force or violence.

DEBATE RESOLUTION: Benjamin Gitlow's "Left Wing Manifesto" was a "clear and present danger" to the laws of the United States.

CASE D: *Abrams v. United States*, (1919)

An immigrant from Russia, Jacob Abrams was accused of printing and distributing leaflets that insulted the United States and interfered with the nation's war effort against Germany. The defendants were charged under provisions of the Espionage Acts of 1917 and 1918. The leaflets had been thrown out of a window on August 22, 1918 protesting the U.S. invasion into Russia during World War I. The Russian Communist Revolution of 1917 had ended Russia's participation in the war against Germany. The United States had opposed Russia's withdrawal and sent troops into parts of Russia. One article in the leaflet denounced President Wilson as a hypocrite and a coward for sending American troops into Russia. The article went on to appeal to American workers to unite and revolt against the government. Another article called for a general strike in the United States "to create so great a disturbance...America shall be compelled to keep their armies at home, and not be able to spare any for Russia."

DEBATE RESOLUTION: Jacob Abrams' leaflets were a "clear and present danger" to the laws of the United States.

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#7: U.S. Government

National Security and the H-Bomb

How did the terrorists in the Oklahoma City bombing learn how to make a bomb? They might have found out from a book or Internet site that provides this information. Should this kind of information be available? Should the government try to suppress it?

In 1979, the government did try to prevent a magazine from publishing a story that showed how to make a bomb. The bomb wasn't just any bomb—it was the H-bomb, the hydrogen bomb, the most powerful weapon known to humans.

The Progressive

The Progressive is a magazine, with a small circulation, that has been published in Madison, Wisconsin, for many years. It is politically liberal and often runs articles critical of the government.

In 1978, *The Progressive* employed free-lance writer Howard Morland to research and write a series of articles on nuclear weapons. Apparently, the original purpose of Morland's project was to give the readers of *The Progressive* some basic information about nuclear weapons so that they could better understand such public issues as the nuclear arms race and underground testing.

Morland, a 36-year-old former Air Force pilot, was no expert on nuclear technology. But he had a consuming desire to find out more about nuclear weapons. When Morland started to research the article, he ran into a solid wall of official secrecy.

Since World War II, nuclear weapons have perhaps been the most sensitive area of American national security. The United States was the first nation to develop nuclear weapons. But by the early 1950s, the Soviet Union also had the secret. Americans became convinced that the Russians had stolen the secret. In fact, two American citizens, husband and wife Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, were convicted and executed in 1953 for passing on to the Russians information related to the construction of atomic weapons.

One year after the Rosenbergs were electrocuted, the federal government passed the Atomic Energy Act. Among other things, this law attempted to tighten security over information concerning the "design, manufacture, or utilization of atomic weapons." In effect the law declared that any information of this type, regardless of its source, was automatically classified as "Restricted Data" unless the government declassified it. This law allowed the government to keep secret virtually anything related to the making of nuclear weapons. Any communication by unauthorized persons of "Restricted Data" that could "injure the U.S." could result in a 20-year prison term.

Following the passage of this law, the U.S. developed the H-Bomb. The Soviet Union and a handful of other countries also developed these

weapons. By the 1970s, possibly 10 to 20 countries seemed on the verge of entering the nuclear arms race. The United States grew increasingly concerned over the spread of nuclear weapons. Consequently the government attempted to make sure that no "Restricted Data" fell into the hands of foreign countries.

Thus the Department of Energy, which supervises the design and manufacture of nuclear weapons,

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refused to allow Morland to look at any of its data on nuclear weapons, even basic information available in any physics textbook. So Morland attempted to find out what he could without the help of the government. He spent months reading physics books, magazine articles, and encyclopedias. With the permission of the Department of Energy, he visited factories where nuclear bombs and missiles were manufactured. He interviewed scientists and weapons experts. He visited libraries and museums. By the early part of 1979, Morland had a six-foot stack of books and papers, which he had collected from public sources.

In February 1979, Morland's first article was published in *The Progressive*. It dealt, in part, with the process of producing H-bombs. After the article was printed there was no reaction or objection from the government.

Morland then wrote his major article, titled "The H-Bomb Secret: How We Got It, Why We're Telling It." Morland's manuscript consisted of 18 pages, which included seven hand-drawn sketches. It described the design and construction of the H-Bomb based on Morland's extensive research. One part of the article explained how hydrogen bombs were triggered.

The Risk of Nuclear War

Upon receiving Howard Morland's manuscript, *The Progressive* editors sent copies of it to several qualified experts to review for accuracy. One reviewer passed his copy on to a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who, in turn, sent it to the Department of Energy (DOE).

On March 1, 1979, the DOE contacted *The Progressive* and informed the magazine that 20 percent of Howard Morland's manuscript and all of his sketches fell within the area of "Restricted Data." Under the Atomic Energy Law, said the DOE, Morland's article could not be published as it was written. The DOE then offered to help re-write the article.

The Progressive editors contacted Morland, who confirmed again that all the information he had used came from public sources. The editors concluded that the government was including as "Restricted Data" facts about nuclear weapons that any intelligent journalist or citizen could find and put together if he or she looked hard and long enough. *The Progressive* replied to the DOE that it would go ahead and publish Morland's article as it was written.

On March 8, 1979, the U.S. Justice Department requested that a Wisconsin federal judge issue an order forbidding the publication of the Morland article. In an affidavit sent to Judge Robert H. Warren, Secretary of Defense Harold B. Brown said that Morland's article correctly described "the basic principles of the functioning of a thermonuclear weapon."

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance also submitted an affidavit warning that publication of the article would "substantially increase the risk that thermonuclear weapons would become available at an earlier date to those who do not now have them." Secretary of Energy James R. Schlesinger even cautioned Judge Warren that if the article were permitted to be published it would "increase the risks of thermonuclear war."

. . . the courts have been very cautious in allowing government officials to interfere with the press.

The next day Judge Warren granted a temporary restraining order prohibiting the publication of Morland's article. This temporary order was further strengthened by a preliminary injunction, which Judge Warren issued on March 26. This court order had the effect of prohibiting the publication of the article until a final determination was made by the courts.

In Judge Warren's injunction, he stated that he believed "publication of the Restricted Data in the Morland article will result in direct, immediate and irreparable damage to the United States...." *The Progressive* obeyed Judge Warren's order, but appealed it to the U.S. Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago.

The Secret

The federal appeal court held a hearing on September 13, 1979. The government argued for a permanent injunction, which would prevent *The Progressive* from ever publishing Morland's article. The government lawyers repeated their argument that publication of the article would reveal vital information about the design of nuclear weapons which would speed up the construction of them in numerous countries. This, in turn, would increase the chances of nuclear war. The government submitted to the court affidavits from several American nuclear scientists who supported this view.

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Specifically, the government charged that Morland's article disclosed the most practical and effective way to trigger an H-bomb. This was the "secret" that the government feared other countries would pick up from the article.

The lawyers for *The Progressive* countered that there really was no nuclear "secret." Morland's description of the H-bomb triggering device, the lawyers claimed, was well-known to nuclear scientists all over the world. For that matter, a foreign spy or even a determined citizen like Morland had only to study information freely available to the public in the United States to figure out how H-bombs are triggered. *The Progressive* also assembled affidavits from American nuclear scientists. These affidavits stated that Morland could indeed have written his article from unclassified information as he had claimed.

Prior Restraint

The First Amendment figured prominently in the arguments *The Progressive's* lawyers made to the court. Traditionally, asserted the lawyers, the courts have refused to agree to any "prior restraint" of the press. This was necessary to preserve freedom of the press. *The Progressive* maintained that the government was really not interested in protecting any "secrets." Rather, the government simply wanted to keep the whole area of nuclear weapons a deep mystery to the American people so that new weapons could be developed. The lawyers for *The Progressive* said that the American people had a right to know how nuclear weapons worked so that they could play a bigger part in controlling them.

Indeed the courts have been very cautious in allowing government officials to interfere with the press. This is especially true when government leaders seek to prevent something from being printed in the first place. This power of prevention, called "prior restraint," could become very dangerous in a democracy. For example, if government leaders successfully covered up their mistakes and bad decisions by forbidding the press to report them to the people, the process of democratic voting would become meaningless.

But, like all the rights listed in the First Amendment, freedom of the press sometimes can be legally limited by the government. In a case decided in 1931 *(Near v. Minnesota*; 51 S.Ct. 625) the Supreme Court agreed that prior restraint "would be legal, for example, if newspapers were ordered by the government during wartime not to publish national defense secrets such as the number and location of combat troops." This type of "prior restraint" would be justified, said the Supreme Court, in order to protect the nation from military defeat or invasion. For the most part the press has cooperated with the government when the nation was at war by agreeing not to print "classified" or "secret" information.

For Discussion and Writing

1. What is prior restraint? Why are courts reluctant to exercise prior restraint on the press?
2. What arguments are there for exercising prior restraint in *The Progressive* case? What are the arguments against?
3. Do you think, in general, the government should suppress information on how to make bombs or other dangerous weapons? Why or why not?

A C T I V I T Y

The Progressive Case

In this activity, students will debate *The Progressive* case by role-playing government lawyers, lawyers for *The Progressive*, and Supreme Court justices. The debate issue is: Should *The Progressive* be allowed to publish Howard Morland's article?

1. Divide the class into triads. Assign each student in the triads one of three roles: government lawyer, lawyer for *The Progressive*, and Supreme Court justice.
2. Regroup the class so students can consult with one another while preparing for the role-play. Government lawyers should sit on one side of the room, lawyers for *The Progressive* on another side, and members of the Supreme Court in front. The lawyers should think up their best arguments, and justices of the Supreme Court should think of questions to ask each side.
3. Regroup into triads and begin the role-play. Government attorneys will present their case first. Each side will have two minutes to make its presentation. The justice can interrupt to ask questions. After both sides present, each justice should return to his or her seat at the front of the room.
4. The justices should discuss and vote on whether *The Progressive* should be allowed to publish the article. Each justice should individually state his or her opinion on the case.

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Conspiracy Theories: Attacks on Jefferson Set the Pattern

Patriots Awake! Before It's Too Late!
—T-shirt slogan (1995)

After most American disasters in this century—the stock market crash of 1929, the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the assassination of President John F. Kennedy—strange conspiracy theories have surfaced. The theories often sound the same: A small, evil elite group, with unbelievable power to coordinate a vast, secret conspiracy, is responsible for the disaster. So in the wake of the terrorist bombing at Oklahoma City, it should come as no surprise that conspiracy theories are floating about.

Conspiracy theories did not start in this century. Some date back to the founding of the republic. One of the first even linked Thomas Jefferson to an evil web of conspirators.

During the presidential election campaign in 1800, Jefferson's Federalist opponents set out to inflame public opinion against him. The Federalists warned that Jefferson would lead the new nation into terror and tyranny. Jefferson was also accused of being anti-religion and making blasphemous remarks about Jesus.

Rumors spread that Jefferson was part of a world-wide conspiracy to destroy governments, private property, and Christianity. According to those believing in this conspiracy, Jefferson was in league with an elitist group of Europeans known as the Illuminati. The Illuminati supposedly infiltrated the government of King Louis XVI and brought about the bloody French Revolution. Jefferson's enemies pointed out that he was the American ambassador to France in the years before the revolution. From this they leaped to the conclusion that he must have joined the Illuminati conspiracy at that time and was now plotting against democracy and religion in the United States.

While Jefferson believed in the ideals of equality and freedom of religion, he certainly was no terrorist or even an atheist. But the campaign to smear him as an Illuminati conspirator set the pattern for American conspiracy theories.

Conspiracy theories claim that some evil group is plotting to destroy our way of life. Most have remarkably similar characteristics. What are they, and how can we tell the difference between a real conspiracy and an imagined one?

The Mother of Conspiracy Theories

There really was an organization known as the Illuminati, and its members practiced secret rituals. It was founded in what is now Germany in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt, a professor of religion. Weishaupt's followers were called the Illuminati because they considered themselves to be illuminated by the light of truth.

The 18th century in Europe has been called the Enlightenment or Age of Reason. Many thinkers at this time believed that the old social order should be replaced by new forms of government and religion based on human reason. The Illuminati fit into this way of thinking. They advocated that all monarchies, private property, established religions, and even the institution of marriage should be abolished to bring about true equality and goodness.

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In 1780, the Illuminati began to merge their ideas with those of another society, the Masons (also known as the Freemasons). Masonic lodges had been around since the Middle Ages and were established throughout Europe and America. Benjamin Franklin and George Washington (but not Jefferson) were Masons. Despite their influence on Freemasonry, the Illuminati as a group fell apart in 1785 due to both internal conflicts and government repression.

When the French Revolution began a few years later, however, some people saw it as the evil handiwork of the Illuminati and their Masonic brothers. The fact that a former Illuminati leader visited Paris shortly after the outbreak of the revolution fed the belief that the secret organization was still in business conspiring to turn the world upside down.

Most conspiracy theories have remarkably similar characteristics.

In 1797, a Scottish professor of philosophy, John Robison, wrote a book titled, *Proofs of a Conspiracy against All the Religions and Governments of Europe, Carried on in Secret Meetings of Freemasons and Reading Societies*. Robison argued that an evil conspiracy fueled by Illuminati ideas and put into action by Freemasons brought France to her knees and now threatened the world. He warned, "the enemy is working among us."

Although Robison assembled numerous "proofs," he still had to depend on his readers to make a leap of faith that all his facts added up to a massive world-wide conspiracy. In reality, several conspiratorial groups did exist, which had been driven underground by repressive European governments. But Robinson's single-minded conspiracy, which wormed its way into all parts of society, existed only in his imagination.

Robison's book spread word of the supposed Illuminati conspiracy to America. In 1798, New England ministers preached that the godless Illuminati elite already controlled Europe and were planning to take over the United States next. Two years later, during the presidential campaign of 1800, Federalists tried to tie Jefferson to the conspiracy. But he was elected anyway and went on to serve two terms without delivering the republic into the clutches of imaginary world conspirators.

Common Characteristics

The Illuminati conspiracy theory of Jefferson's time set the pattern for others that followed in American history. While the groups accused of plotting against America changed over the years, the characteristics of the theories claiming to expose them remained much the same.

During the 1820s, the Masons became the target of conspiracy theories. Long associated in the minds of some people with the Illuminati, the Masons were accused of disloyalty and secretly planning to destroy American democracy. Shortly afterward, large numbers of American protestants became convinced that the Catholics were hard at work trying to hand over control of the U.S. government to the pope in Rome. In the 1920s, Jews came under the spotlight of conspiracy theorists when automaker Henry Ford and others publicized the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." This wholly fictional work was supposed to be the blueprint for the Jewish takeover of the world.

During the early years of the Cold War, communists were viewed as a sinister force infiltrating every part of society from the movie industry to the U.S. State Department. While communists were certainly active in America, those who supported conspiracy theories exaggerated their importance. Take, for example, Senator Joseph McCarthy, a leader of the hunt to find communists in the government. He said at the time:

> How can we account for our present situation, unless we believe that men high in this government are concerting to deliver us to disaster? This must be the product of a great conspiracy, a conspiracy on a scale so immense as to dwarf any such previous venture in the history of man.

In 1991, Pat Robertson, a televangelist and former candidate for the Republican nomination for president, wrote a book titled *The New World Order*. Robertson reached back to the Illuminati to develop his conspiracy theory that today Wall Street and international bankers along with key corporate and political leaders like Jimmy Carter and George Bush are using the United Nations to do away with Christianity and American freedom. Robertson argues that events like the collapse of communism in Russia and the Gulf War were engineered to set the

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stage for a "totalitarian one-world government."

After the Oklahoma City bombing, private paramilitary groups, often calling themselves "militias," received a great deal of press attention. Many members of these groups really do seem to believe that the United Nations or other foreign forces are primed to invade the United States with the help of our own government. In the view of militia members, this explains why the federal government wants to take away their right to own firearms.

What do conspiracy theories have in common? Conspiracy theorists usually believe that our American way of life is threatened. They see lots of bad things happening abroad and at home. They become convinced that all can be explained by a single sinister plot. In most conspiracy theories, the plotters usually belong to an identifiable group that operates in secrecy. Usually considered small in number, the conspirators are described as disciplined, single-minded, and all-powerful. They are also absolutely evil and must be opposed by the rest of us who are absolutely good. Time is running out, warn the conspiracy theory believers, and patriotic Americans must wake up now if the evil ones among us are to be defeated.

Over everything else, however, the most significant characteristic of conspiracy theories is that none of them has ever come close to becoming real. Jefferson did not abolish religion. The Catholic popes never wanted to rule the United States. The communists never took over the State Department. . . and so on.

Real vs. Imagined Conspiracies

In the real world, conspiracies do take place. Small groups of criminals and terrorists do plot murders, bank robberies, airplane hijackings, and bombings of buildings. Even political, business, and other groups often depend on secret meetings to plan strategy. These meetings could be considered "conspiracies." But the sort of imagined "take-over-the-world" conspiracies blamed on the Illuminati, Jews, international bankers, and others are believable only to those who want to believe in them.

Social scientists like Dieter Groh argue that history is far too complex to be controlled by a group of conspirators. History, they say, is unplannable, which contradicts the foundation of all imagined conspiracies.

Unlike prosecutors who must prove a criminal conspiracy beyond a reasonable doubt by following strict rules of evidence, conspiracy theorists are quick to jump to conclusions. Historian Richard Hofstadter has written that conspiracy buffs usually make a "leap in imagination" from a series of facts to the assumption that they all fit together to prove that some evil group is about to take over. It is like saying that the Illuminati believed in equality (true); Jefferson believed in equality (true); therefore, Jefferson was part of an Illuminati conspiracy to rule the world (this hardly follows).

Conspiracy theorists usually believe that our American way of life is threatened.

These jumps in logic often take the form of classic logical fallacies. A common one seen in conspiracy theories is *post hoc ergo propter hoc* (Latin for "after this therefore because of this"). This fallacy concludes that X caused Y simply because X happened before Y. "About a minute before Jack fell down and broke his arm, a black cat crossed his path. Therefore the black cat caused his bad luck." Conspiracy literature thrives on this type of superstitious thinking. For example, "Three days after the four bankers met, the stock market fell 200 points. The bankers caused the market to crash so they could reap the profits."

Another fallacy common to conspiracy theories is the slippery slope. This argument predicts doom from a seemingly simple act. This act will lead to another, which inevitably leads to another, which spells doom. For example, "By letting the government register your car, you're aiding its plot to take over the world. Next you'll have to register where you go. Soon the government will plant a microchip in your forehead to keep track of all your movements." Little proof is offered that one step will lead to another. Each step is simply "inevitable."

Those who see a conspiracy behind almost every act do not seem to follow logic or common sense. Historian Hofstadter calls this way of behaving the "paranoid style in American politics." He writes, "We are all sufferers from history, but the paranoid is a double sufferer, since he is afflicted not only by the real world, with the rest of us, but by his fantasies as well."

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For Discussion and Writing

1. Who were the Illuminati, and why do you think Jefferson was accused of conspiring with them?
2. Why do you think large numbers of people throughout American history have believed in conspiracy theories?
3. What are the differences between real and imagined conspiracies?

For Further Reading

Hofstadter, Richard. *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.

Smolowe, Jill. "Enemies of the State." *Time*. May 8, 1995:58-69.

A C T I V I T Y

Critical Thinking About Conspiracies

In this critical thinking activity, students will evaluate assertions made by different conspiracy theories. Two or three students should work together to evaluate one of the assertions listed below. Students should discuss the assertion and then prepare to explain to the rest of the class which part of the assertion is true and which part does not logically follow. Students should also try to make up questions which the author of the assertion should have to answer.

Conspiracy Theory Assertions

1. Illuminati members lived in Paris when the French Revolution began in 1789. This explains why the revolution in France took place at that time.
2. Masons conduct secret meetings. Many U.S. government leaders have belonged to the Masons. The Masons secretly control the U.S. government.
3. President John F. Kennedy was a Roman Catholic. The pope is the head of the Roman Catholic Church. The pope ruled America when Kennedy was president.
4. The United States has banned certain military assault weapons. Next it will ban all assault weapons. Then it will outlaw all weapons. Finally, it will disarm the military. This will enable the United Nations to take control of the United States.
5. Since Jews are not Christians, they are anti-Christian.
6. During the 1930s, the American Communist Party advocated unemployment benefits for people out of work. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal passed legislation providing unemployment benefits. Roosevelt was therefore a communist agent.
7. There are still unanswered questions surrounding the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. This proves that the government is covering up the truth.
8. First, Thomas Jefferson advocated the separation of church and state. Then the U.S. Supreme Court banned organized prayers in public schools. This is all part of a plan to make the United States an atheist country.
9. AIDS primarily attacks gays and intravenous drug users. These two groups have been widely berated by the right wing. This proves that a right-wing plot developed the AIDS virus in a laboratory and then spread it to wipe out the gay community and drug users.

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Handout 1—The Six Basic Steps of an Action Project

Here are six basic steps you can use for any action project.

Step 1: Select a Problem

Get your group together and discuss what community problems concern you. Make a list and choose one problem to focus on. To help you decide, ask the following questions: Which problem affects your community the most? Which would be most interesting to work on? Which could be worked on most easily? Which would you learn the most from?

Step 2: Research the Problem

The more you know about a problem, the more you'll understand how to approach it. Try to find out as much as you can about these questions: What causes the problem? What are its effects on the community? What is being done about the problem? Who is working on the problem or is interested in it? To find answers to these questions, try the following:

Use the library. Look up newspaper and magazine articles. Ask the reference librarian for help.

Interview experts. Call local government officials. Find people at non-profit organizations that work on the problem.

Survey community members. Ask questions of people you know. Conduct a formal written survey of community members.

Step 3: Decide on an Action Project

Think of project ideas that would address the problem your team has chosen. Make a list. As a team, decide on the top *three* project ideas. Think about the pros and cons of each project idea. Evaluate each in terms of your available time, materials, and resources. Select the most suitable one.

Step 4: Plan the Project

To prevent false starts or chaotic results, you need a plan. See **Handout 2—How to Plan the Project** for details.

Step 5: Do the Project

Step 6: Evaluate the Project

While implementing the project, it's important to evaluate—to think about how you are doing and figuring out how you can do things better. At the end of the project, you'll want to evaluate how you did. To make evaluating easy, you'll need to plan for it. See **Handout 2—How to Plan the Project** for details.

In addition to evaluating the project's results, be sure to examine how well your group worked together and what you learned as an individual.

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Handout 2—How to Plan the Project, Page 1

Planning is an important step in an action project. You may want to get out there now and make some waves. But hold on. If you take the time to plan now, you will save time later. You'll also save energy, money, and heartbreak because you'll know where you're going and how to get there. The more time you spend on planning, the less time your project will take.

So, before you act, take time to plan. The rest of this handout provides tips on planning and filling out the nine parts of **Handout 3—Project Plan**, which is a blank form.

All the parts of the plan should fit together and support each other. Take this example:

Let's say there is a park recreation center in your neighborhood, but it is rundown and has no equipment. As a result, kids don't use the park. They just hang around and get into trouble. What is needed is more and better recreation equipment for the park. This is your **problem statement**.

Your **goal** might be to provide the park with equipment.

Your project should be designed to address the problem and accomplish your goals. The park is rundown, so kids don't use it. Good recreation equipment would attract kids to the park, but it will take some effort to get your hands on it. What will you do to get the equipment? The answer to this question is your **project description**.

Resources are the people and organizations who might help you in the community—especially government, non-profit, business, and media organizations. As resources, you might list businesses near the park, the city parks department, a non-profit that works with kids, and the local newspaper.

The **action steps** describe how you are going to do the project. It's important to ask the people you're helping what *they* want, so the first step might be to conduct a survey to see what kind of recreation equipment the kids would like in the park. The next step might be to find out if the city can provide it or if local merchants would be willing to chip in to buy it. A third step might be to raise some money to purchase the equipment.

The **task chart** supports the action steps. Who is going to do what, in which order, and how long will it take?

The **evaluation plan** asks you to think about how you will measure the success of your project. Did you get the equipment? If, so, what and how much? Did the children use the equipment and the park? Did fewer kids hang around the streets and cause problems?

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Handout 2, Page 2

Handout 3—Project Plan covers the nine parts you need for your plan. We'll go over them one step at a time. But remember: Each part influences the others. Make sure they all fit together. Then you'll have a powerful plan.

Part 1. Project Name

Invent a catchy name for your project. Use it on anything you create for the project—fliers, posters, letterhead, etc.

Part 2. Team Members

Write the names of your team members down. It's good to start thinking about the strengths and talents of each team member so you can make use of everyone on the project.

Part 3. Problem Statement

Try to describe your problem with a single sentence. This is hard to do, but describing your problem clearly and simply can help you focus on what you can do about it. Then briefly write what else you know about the problem by answering the following questions: What causes the problem? What are its effects on the community? What do people affected by the problem want done?

Part 4. Goals

Now describe your goals. Be specific and practical. Can you achieve your goals? Keep your goal statement clear and simple, like your problem statement. Goals help chart your course. If you know where you want to go, you can usually determine how to get there.

Part 5. Project Description

Now describe your project in two or three sentences. Look at your problem statement and goals. How will your project deal with your problem and address your goals? Describing your project clearly and simply can give you a chance to think about what you are going to do, how you are going to do it, and why.

Part 6. Resources

List different individuals or organizations who might help you with your project. Government, non-profit, and business organizations may be working on the problem or interested in it. Tap into these resources.

Part 7. Action Steps

Your goal tells you where you're going. What steps will you take to get there? Write down the details of your plan. Explain how the project will work.

Part 8. Task Chart

Once you have decided on the steps to your plan, break down the steps into tasks. Try to think of everything that needs to be done. Then assign people jobs that they want to do and *can* do. Put someone in charge of reminding people to do their tasks. Set a deadline, or due date, for each task.

Part 9. Evaluation Plan

Take time now to figure out how you are going to measure the success of your project. There are several ways to evaluate a project. Pick the best ways and figure out how to do it for your project.

Before-and-After Comparisons. You can show how things looked or how people felt before your project, then show how your project caused changed. You might use the following to make comparisons: photos, videos, survey results, or test scores.

Counting and Measuring. You can count or measure many different things in a project. For example: How many meetings did you have? How many people attended? How many voters did you register? How much time did you spend? Numbers like these will help you measure your impact on the community.

Comparisons With a Control Group. You may be able to measure your project against a control group—a comparable group that your project does not reach. If, for example, you are trying to rid one part of town of graffiti, you could compare your results to another part of town with the same problem.

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Handout 3—Project Plan, Page 1

Part 1. Project Name:

Part 2. Team Members:

1. _____ 4. _____

2. _____ 5. _____

3. _____ 6. _____

Part 3. Problem Statement: Describe, in specific terms, the problem you have selected to work on.

What causes the problem?

What are its effects on the community?

What do people affected by the problem want done?

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Part 4. Goals: What do you want your project to accomplish? Describe your goals clearly and simply.

Part 5. Project Description: Describe your project clearly and simply.

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Part 6. Resources: Who is likely to support your project? (Look to government, business, non-profit, and media organizations and community members.) List resources below:

Part 7. Action Steps: What do you need to do? Spell out the basic steps you will need to take to accomplish your goals.

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Handout 3, Page 4

Part 8. Task Chart

What tasks must group members complete to do the action steps? Write the task, the person's name who is responsible for it, and the due date. (Put an X in the last column when the task is done.)

Task	Person	Due Date	X

Part 9. Evaluation Plan: How will you measure the success of the project? Be specific.

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Handout 4—Project Ideas

A community needs to find ways to heal from the effects of violence. Working together, students, teachers, and concerned citizens can develop projects to help heal the community. Here are a few project ideas to get you started, but keep in mind that often, the most effective projects are those you create yourself.

1. Organize a community forum about healing from violence and terrorism. Invite experts with different viewpoints to take part in classroom discussions or public debates.
2. Organize a counseling project at a local teen center or other non-profit organization to discuss the causes, effects, and alternatives to violence and terrorism.
3. Start a conflict-resolution program to train students as conflict managers to help others resolve conflicts non-violently. Use student expertise.
4. Create a school-wide understanding program to encourage better relations among groups.
5. Survey student attitudes towards violence and terrorism.
6. Hold a speech contest on healing from violence. Have three winners speak at other schools or at community events.
7. Organize a community heroes day for police, fire department and other community rescue workers. Invite rescue workers to speak in classrooms.
8. Approach local radio stations to create a talk-radio program for young people to discuss their responses to violence and terrorism with trained counselors.
9. Start a healing column in your school or local newspaper.
10. Organize a student grand jury to review an incident of terrorism and its effect on the community.
11. Create a drama about violence, terrorism, and healing.

You're not alone. Look around. You will probably find other individuals and groups in the community who want to heal from terrorism and violence. Talk to:

Parents	Youth Groups
Police	Local Officials
Public Health Groups	Religious Groups
Victims' Organizations	Business Organizations
Civic Organizations	Non-Profit Groups
The Media	

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Handout 5A—Skills for Action Projects

Opinion Surveys

By taking an opinion poll, you can learn what people in the community think. There are three steps to surveying:

1. Create a Survey

Make most of your questions multiple choice and yes/no. This will make your survey easy to tabulate.

Keep the survey short and simple.

Be sure that your questions do not force particular answers. They must be unbiased. Otherwise your survey results will be open to criticism.

Test your survey. Before conducting the survey, ask someone to check it over. Does that person think it is clear?

2. Select the Population and Sample

Determine the population. What will your poll results represent? The opinions of everyone in your school? Of everyone in the community? Of a section of the community? Select the population you want the poll to cover.

Select a sample. You don't have to poll the entire population to get a good idea of how people in the population feel. Try to get a random sample of the population. This means that every person in the population has the same chance of taking the survey. For example, telephoning the fifth person on the each page of the phone book would be a random sample.

3. Conduct the Survey

Introduce yourself. Practice a brief introduction. When approaching a stranger, introduce yourself, tell what group you are from, explain the survey's purpose, and ask whether the person would mind spending a few minutes answering it.

Tell all interviewees that they do not have to put their names on the survey. Results will be reported anonymously.

Be as organized as possible. Use a clipboard to hold the surveys and bring extra pens or pencils.

Be polite. People who answer your survey are doing you a favor. Don't badger anyone to take the survey.

Wait for each survey and check it. Make sure the information is complete. If you read the survey to the respondent and fill it in, write exactly what the person says.

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Handout 5B—Skills for Action Projects

Interviews

Here are some tips on interviewing community people, especially people working in government, business, non-profit, and media organizations.

Make an appointment over the phone. Explain your visit's purpose. Set an exact date and time. Get the address and directions. On the day before the appointment, call and confirm the appointment.

Look right and be on time. People make judgments based on how you look and act. If you create the right impression, people usually respond in a positive way.

Rehearse the interview with a partner. Go through the introduction, questions, thank you, and good-bye.

Prepare your questions in writing. Make sure the questions cover everything you need.

Cover each point before going on to the next. If you do not understand what a person is saying, ask for an explanation.

Take notes. Keep your notes brief so you remain attentive to the speaker. Afterward, make complete notes.

Find out if the person has any useful literature or contacts. Many organizations have literature or brochures that may be useful. Ask if there is someone else or another organization who could help you.

Thank the person. Send a short *handwritten* thank-you note within a week. It's polite and will ease future contact with the person.

Speaking in Public

If you're prepared and you believe in the importance of what you have to say, then speaking to a group will be easy. Here are some tips on preparing and presenting your speech.

Decide on the purpose of the speech. Sum it up in one sentence.

Brainstorm ideas for the speech. Write down all your ideas.

Organize your ideas and write the speech. Your speech should have a beginning, a middle, and an end. First tell the audience what you're going to say, then say it, and conclude by telling them what you've said.

Practice, practice, practice. Highlight the speech's main points in marker or make an outline, which you can glance at.

Dress right for the occasion.

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Handout 5C—Skills for Action Projects, Page 1

Finding Resources—Organizations and Experts

There are probably many people and groups in your community already working on the problem you have chosen. They can be tremendous resources. This section will show you how to find people in (1) government, (2) non-profits, (3) business, and (4) the media who are interested in your problem. To locate them, you will need two things: a telephone and a local telephone book.

Once you locate resources in the phone book, call them and ask:

- What is being done about the problem?
- Who is working on it or interested in it? One group will lead you to many others.

1. Finding Resources in Government

Government officials, committees, boards, and departments work on community problems. Call your local elected representatives to find out who's interested in your problem. In the telephone directory, find the government pages (sometimes called the Blue Pages), which are usually located just before the White Pages. They list government offices separately under the headings of your city, county, state, and U.S. government. Under your city, look for city council members. Under county, look for county supervisors. If you can't find them, call the main numbers under the city and county listings. Or go to the library and ask the reference librarian for a list of local officials. Most local governments publish a guide that describes the different boards, commissions, committees, and departments and lists names, addresses, and telephone numbers of officials.

2. Finding Resources in Non-Profits

These groups cover the wide realm of organizations that are neither government nor business. They are not in business to make a profit. These organizations vary widely—neighborhood associations, advocacy groups, environmental groups, volunteer organizations, charities, service organizations, fraternal societies, unions, churches, etc. Many of these groups play an active role in working on community problems. Look for groups that might be interested in your problem.

Look in the Yellow Pages under "Educational Organizations" and "Educational Consultants"; "Environmental, Conservation, & Ecological Organizations"; "Fraternal Organizations"; "Human Services Organizations" or "Social Service Organizations"; "Labor Organizations"; "Political Organizations"; "Religious Organizations" and "Churches"; and "Senior Citizens' Services & Organizations."

To find neighborhood associations, contact your local representative. Or ask a resident in the neighborhood.

Call United Way or Volunteer Center. Ask (1) for its information-and-referral directory and (2) what volunteer groups are working on a problem. The front of many telephone books lists community service organizations.

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3. Finding Resources in Business

Businesses and business groups are intensely interested in your community. Start with local business associations, such as the Chamber of Commerce, which perform much civic-improvement and volunteer work. Look in the Yellow Pages under "Chambers of Commerce," "Business and Trade Associations," "Associations," and "Professional Associations." Your Chamber of Commerce probably has a list of business associations.

Next find service organizations, such as Kiwanis, Rotary International, Lions, and Junior Chamber of Commerce (the Jaycees). These groups, while not officially business groups, are largely made up of business people. Members join to serve the community, socialize, and network with other business people. Look in the Yellow Pages under "Clubs" and "Associations" or look in the White Pages under the name of the group.

Finally, find individual businesses. These you will have to do legwork on. Look for businesses near the problem or who would have a natural interest in the problem.

4. Finding Resources in the Media

The media—radio, television, newspapers—are businesses, but businesses with the special power to inform and influence the public. Reporters who have covered a problem probably know about groups in the community who are interested in the problem. Plus the media can give you publicity, which can bring attention to your problem, attract volunteers, and advertise an event.

Read your newspaper or listen to broadcasts. (You might even keep a clip file on your problem's coverage in the local newspaper.) Find out who covers the problems you are interested in. Then call the newspaper or station, ask for the newsroom, and ask to speak with the reporter.

For locating newspapers, look in the Yellow Pages under "Newspapers." You'll be surprised how many are listed. For locating television stations, look in the Yellow Pages under "Television Stations and Broadcast Companies." For locating radio stations, look in the Yellow Pages under "Radio Stations and Broadcasting Companies." Or if you only want to contact a particular newspaper or station, look it up in the White Pages.

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Handout 6—Useful Books

Community Action

Active Citizen Today Field Guide by Bill Hayes and Charles Degelman. Los Angeles: Constitutional Rights Foundation and Close Up Foundation (1994).

Changing Our World: A Handbook for Young Activists by Paul Fleisher. Tucson, Ariz.: Zephyr Press (1993).

Making a Difference: Effective Citizenship by Maryrose Eannace. Adapted from *Effective Participation in Government: A Guide to Policy Skills* by William D. Coplin and Michael K. O'Leary. Croton-on-Hudson, NY: Policy Studies Associates (1991).

We Are Resourceful: A Community Problem-Solving Resource Kit for Young People United Way of America (1993).

Skills

Find It Fast: How to Uncover Expert Information on Any Subject by Robert I. Berkman. New York: Harper & Row (1990).

Gale Research Company's *Encyclopedia of Associations*. This publication lists non-profit organizations by subject and area.

"Simplified Parliamentary Procedure: Based on Robert's Rules of Order" League of Women Voters (1979)

Issues

Annual Edition series. Published annually by the Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., these oversized paperbacks contain current articles on a wide variety of issues.

National Issues Forum Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co. This company publishes 30-page booklets on various social issues.

Opposing Viewpoints series. Greenhaven Press. This company publishes full-length books focusing on various social issues.

Community Facts and Figures

County and City Data Book U.S. Government. This provides census data on about 3,000 counties and 1,000 cities of more than 25,000 inhabitants.

Places Rated Almanac: Your Guide to Finding the Best Places to Live in North America by David Savageau and Richard Boyer. Full of interesting charts and statistics, this book ranks American cities under 10 categories: cost of living, jobs, housing, transportation, education, health , crime, arts, recreation, and climate.

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